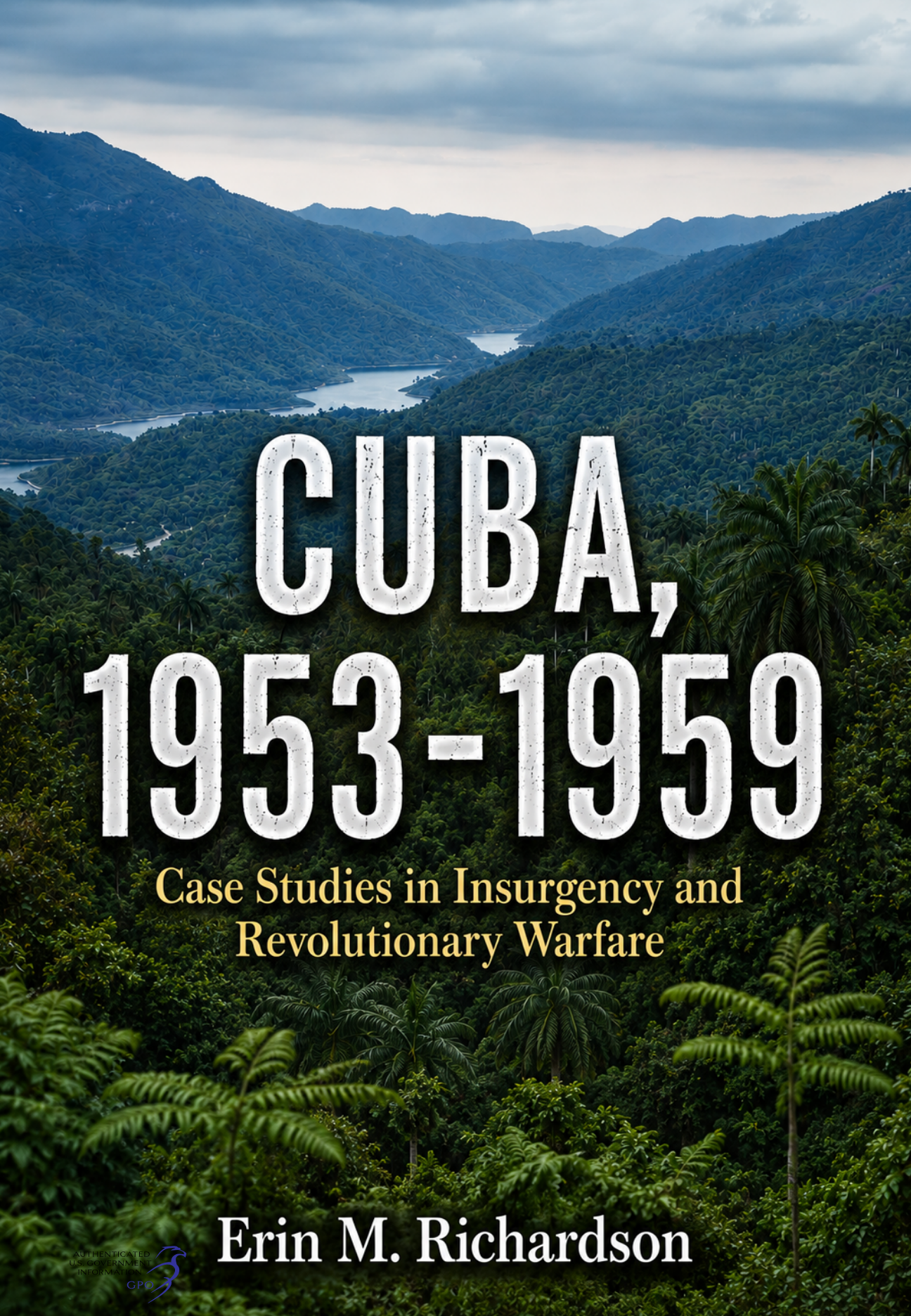
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Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare
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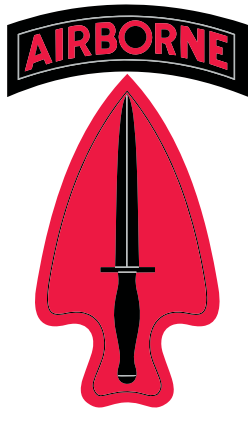
Assessing Revolutionary and Insurgent Strategies

CASE STUDIES IN INSURGENCY AND REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE: CUBA 1953–1959

REVISED EDITION



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Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: Guatemala 1944–1954 (pub. 1964)

SORO STUDIES

Case Studies in Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: Vietnam 1941–1954 (pub. 1964)

INTRODUCTION TO REVISED EDITION

This study was originally published by the US Army Special Operations Research Office in September 1963. As we developed the Assessing Resistance and Insurgent Strategies (ARIS) project and work began on the new studies, we determined that this study is still important and relevant and thus should be republished. The Foreword to the original edition cites the following reasons for conducting the study: (1) the close relation of Cuban interests and those of the West; (2) the profound effect of action or the lack of action by powers outside Cuba; (3) concern that the Cuban Revolution become a prototype for Communist revolutions elsewhere; and (4) because the final form of the Cuban Revolution was so different from its initial manifestations. This final point is interesting even today. While the Cuban Revolution appeared originally to be a political protest movement with moderate aims, it grew into a major upheaval that changed the foundations of Cuban life.

The majority of the book was reproduced exactly as it appeared originally, with some minor spelling and punctuation corrections as well as changes in formatting to conform to modern typesetting conventions and to match the new ARIS studies in presentation. The process for creating this revised edition entailed scanning the pages from a copy of the original book; using an optical character recognition (OCR) function to convert the text on the scanned pages to computer-readable, editable text; refining the scanned figures to ensure appropriate resolution and contrast; and composing the document using professional typesetting software. Then, word by word, the revised text was compared to the original text to ensure that no errors were introduced during the OCR and composition processes. In addition, the original edition included a fold-out map that was re-created at a smaller scale for this updated edition.

These efforts resulted in the creation of this revised edition in the following formats: a softbound book, a hardbound book, a PDF, and an EPUB. The EPUB was generated by creating a new set of files from the print-ready files, adjusting various settings in the files to facilitate maximum compatibility with e-readers, exporting the files to .epub, and reviewing and revising the code to allow for optimal viewing on standard e-reading devices. The final step was to test the book on multiple e-readers and then repeat the entire process as necessary to address any remaining issues in the code.

Although the processes for creating the various formats of this edition are for the most part straightforward, they take several weeks to complete and require considerable attention to detail. Several staff members from the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics

Laboratory devoted time and effort to making the various formats of this revised edition possible: Kelly Livieratos, Annie Marcotte, Magda Saina, and Erin Richardson.

This study and the other products from the ARIS project are essential learning tools developed to enhance Special Operations Forces personnel's understanding of resistances and insurgencies. For more than fifty years, Special Operations Forces have conducted missions to support resistances or insurgencies (unconventional warfare); to counter them (counterinsurgency operations); or to support a partner nation in eliminating them (foreign internal defense). These operations are collectively referred to as special warfare. Special Operations doctrine gives general principles and strategies for accomplishing these operations but in most cases describes the resistance or insurgency only in generalities. The ARIS project was designed to serve as an anatomy lesson. It provides the necessary foundational material for the special warfare practitioner to learn the elemental structure, form, and function of rebellions, thus enabling him or her to better adapt and apply the doctrine professionally. Additionally, these products inform doctrine, ensuring that it is adapted to meet modern social and technological changes.

When citing this study in scholarly work, please refer to the PDF version available at www.soc.mil.

Paul J. Tompkins Jr.
USASOC Project Lead

CASE STUDIES IN INSURGENCY AND REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE: CUBA 1953–1959

Primary Research Responsibility

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SPECIAL OPERATIONS RESEARCH OFFICE

The American University

Washington D.C., 20016

September 1963

FOREWORD

This report on the recent Cuban Revolution is the first in a series of studies analyzing the rapid, often violent, change in political and socio-economic order which is usually called revolution. Companion studies on the revolutions in Algeria (1954–1962) and in Vietnam (1941–1954) will be published in the near future, as will a related study on the Guatemalan situation between 1944 and 1954. Another study, *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: 23 Summary Accounts,* has already been published.

This is a social science research study in which historical information is treated as data to be used in the examination of hypotheses about the causal factors of revolution. It is not, therefore, a historical study in the traditional sense of recreating the past. Our focus rather, is on understanding the varied aspects of a revolution. Hopefully this might lead to a methodology for forecasting revolutions and to essential knowledge about revolutionary movements and processes.

From the many instances of modern revolution, the Cuban revolution was selected for these reasons: Cuban interests and those of the West are closely related and have so been for a long time. Second, events subsequent to the revolution have shown that the action or the lack of action by powers outside Cuba had a profound effect on the outcome of the revolution. Third, because the external powers involved in the post-revolutionary situation in Cuba are Communist, there is concern that the Cuban Revolution become a prototype for Communist revolutions elsewhere in Latin America. Lastly, the final form of the Cuban Revolution was so different from its initial manifestations. It appeared originally to be a political protest movement with moderate aims; it grew into a major upheaval which changed the foundations of Cuban life.

Because the Special Operations Research Office has a continuing research program on revolutionary processes, comments from readers will be welcomed.

THEODORE R. VALLANCE,
Director

PREFACE

A few words concerning the style of this case study of the Cuban Revolution are required in order to avoid misunderstandings about its concept and intent.

The case study is not a chronological narrative of the revolution from beginning to end. That type of historical case study is valuable for many purposes and a number have been published (see Bibliography). Rather, this study attempts to analyze, individually and successively through time, a number of factors in the revolutionary situation and the revolutionary movement itself which, on the basis of prior studies of revolutions, have been identified as being generally related to the occurrence, form, and outcome of a revolution. The case study, then, is devised to test the "explanatory power" of certain statements of relationships in terms of their applicability to the Cuban Revolution in particular. For this reason the reader is urged to read the definition of terms and the conceptual framework underlying the study which appear in the Technical Appendix.

Such an approach has both advantages and disadvantages to the reader. One who is interested in a particular topic (e.g., social antagonisms, revolutionary organization) need only read that section to get all the essential information on that topic. The reader who is interested in the entire case study will inevitably notice some redundancy from section to section, although every attempt has been made to keep unnecessary repetition to the absolute minimum. But some redundancy is inevitable for two reasons: a given historical event can have multiple significance (e.g., both social and economic significance, or both psychological operations and sabotage significance) and there is an interaction among events in a given society (e.g., political actions may be related to economic actions, or underground supply effectiveness may be related to guerrilla interdiction effectiveness).

The rationale for using such a systematic approach goes beyond the quest for analytic understanding of the Cuban Revolution itself. Companion case studies are also being prepared on the Algerian Revolution (1954–1962) and the Vietnam Revolution (1941–1954) using the same conceptual framework and evaluating the same factors.[a] At the same time, a case study of the situation in Guatemala between 1944 and 1954 is being prepared, using a different approach more suitable to that situation. Thus, a basis is being prepared for comparative analyses that will, hopefully, provide generalizations applicable to more than a single revolution. The net result of this approach for this case study is a series

[a] As a final note on redundancy, it should be noted that the Preface and the Technical Appendix are identical with those in the companion case studies.

of related analytic conclusions regarding the character and dynamics of the Cuban Revolution, but not a smoothly rounded literary story.

All of the sources used in preparation for this study are unclassified, and for the most part secondary sources were used. Again, certain advantages and disadvantages accrue. As an unclassified document, the study will be more widely distributed and whatever contribution to understanding it contains will be put to wider use. Reliance on unclassified secondary sources, however, may have led to the exclusion of certain significant considerations or to the use of unreliable information and thus to factual and interpretative errors. It is believed, however, that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. If, because of its sources, the study adds no new information about the revolution, it does claim that maximum, systematic, analytic use of already available open information is a meaningful contribution to the study of insurgency and revolutionary warfare.

Finally, the intent of this case study is not to present any particular "slant" on the Cuban Revolution, the actors and parties in it, or the role of foreign (to Cuba) powers. Rather, the intent is to present as objective an account as possible of what happened in terms of the hypotheses being evaluated. Thus, some of the case study necessarily deals with how Cubans perceived events, or, more accurately, how it is believed they perceived events.

The aim has been to prepare the case study from the viewpoint of an impartial, objective observer. Perhaps such an aspiration is beyond grasp—the events may be too recent, the sources too unreliable, the "observer" too biased toward objectives compatible with Western democratic interests. For these reasons, no infallibility is claimed and it is readily conceded that this study cannot be the final word on the Cuban Revolution. Subsequent events always have a way of leading to reinterpretation of prior events. However, any errors of omission or commission are not deliberate, but truly errors—and they certainly are not a result of an intent to foster any particular political "slant."

At the same time, there is no question that many of the subjects discussed are "politically sensitive." It must be recorded, therefore, that the above denial of any deliberate intent to "slant" the case study also means that there was no intent to "cover up" historical facts and interpretations which might be perceived as reflecting unfavorably on any party. Little is to be gained in terms of increased understanding of revolutions if justification of past particular policies, or advocacy of any given current policy, was the real intent under the guise of objective analysis. An effort was made, however, to avoid use of a style and language which in itself would be unnecessarily offensive or in poor taste.

Beyond the resolve of objective analysis in the preparation of the study, sources were selected on the basis of their judged reliability. A balance was sought among sources of known persuasion in order not to unwittingly bias the case study in one direction or another. As a final check, the study draft was submitted to two area specialists, Dr. John J. Finan of the American University and Nicolas Rivero, a former Cuban Government official who served first under Batista and later under Castro. The experts reviewed the manuscript for accuracy of fact and reasonableness of interpretations and their comments and criticisms provided the basis for final revisions. Although their contributions were substantial, final responsibility for the manuscript, both with respect to substantive content and methodology, rests solely with the Special Operations Research Office.

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SUMMARY

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The objective of this case study is to contribute to increased analytic understanding of revolutionary (internal) war. Specifically, the study analyzes the Cuban Revolution by examining two types of information in terms of their relationship to the occurrence, form, and outcome of the revolution:

(1) social, economic, and political factors in the prerevolutionary and revolutionary situations;

(2) structural and functional factors of the revolutionary movement, such as the composition of actors and followers, revolutionary strategy and goals, organization and techniques.

The study is not focused on the strategy and tactics of countering revolutions. On the premise that development of U.S. policies and operations for countering revolutions—where that is in the national interest—will be improved by a better understanding of what it is that is to be countered, the study concentrates on the character and the dynamics of the revolution.

ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The first two parts contain the major analyses of the case study. Part I presents an analysis of social, economic, and political factors in the revolution, Part II, an analysis of the revolutionary movement. For the benefit of the reader, a brief Epilogue of events after 1959 (some to 1962) is presented in Part III.

This Summary is for readers who must restrict their reading and is focused primarily on major analytic conclusions. For those readers who wish to study more deeply the aspects of the revolution, a Bibliography is provided which contains references to the source materials used in the preparation of this report. The Technical Appendix contains a description of the rationale and the study procedures used, reserving this Summary and the other parts of the study for substantive content and analysis.

SYNOPSIS

The Cuban Revolution[a] is considered to have begun in July 1953 when the government of Fulgencio Batista was threatened with the first open revolt, and to have ended in January 1959 when Batista was forced to leave the country. The fighting stage of the revolution, upon which a great deal of attention is focused, began in December 1956 when the first of several expeditionary groups successfully established a guerrilla base in the rural areas of Cuba.

In 1933 the aspiration of new political forces in Cuba, mainly university students and a new generation of political leaders (whose spokesmen were the followers of the former Havana University professor, President Ramón Grau San Martín), coincided to a large extent with the aims of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy." It can be said that the overthrow of President Gerardo Machado in 1933 and the upsurge of new political leaders termed as moderate leftwing nationalists marked the end of an era for Cuba. Until that time Cuba had been less than fully independent. The Platt Amendment, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1901 and then incorporated into the Cuban Constitution under pressure from Washington, granted the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs for adequate protection of U.S. life and property. It also gave the United States the right to ratify Cuban treaties with other nations and to establish military bases in Cuba. The repeal of the Platt Amendment in 1934 was a decision of the U.S. Government in accordance with the new approach to Latin American affairs by the Roosevelt administration. At the Montevideo Conference (December 1933) the U.S. Government supported the principle of nonintervention in the political affairs of Latin America.

The beginning of Cuba's new era also marked the rise of Fulgencio Batista. The first phase of his rule lasted from 1933 to 1944. Until 1940 he controlled Cuba through handpicked Presidents; from 1940 to 1944 he assumed the Presidency himself. Under Batista the Cuban economy made definite progress. Roads were improved, the educational system was enlarged, and the press enjoyed considerable freedom.

In 1944 Batista retired voluntarily and took up residence in Florida. Under the succeeding presidents, Ramón Grau San Martín and Carlos Prío Socarrás, there was an increase in gangsterism and public disorder in Cuba. In March 1952 Batista returned to campaign for the Presidency, but in the midst of the campaign seized power again in a coup d'etat that lasted less than 2 hours. While his earlier regime had been

[a] A summary of the Cuban Revolution is included in the *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: 23 Summary Accounts* (Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1963).

relatively moderate, he now suspended the Constitution drawn in 1940 and ruled more authoritarianly.

Batista's return to power dashed the hopes of the young lawyer, Fidel Castro, for election to Congress. He asked the courts to declare Batista's rule illegal, but they failed to act and Fidel Castro determined to overthrow the "dictator" by force. On July 26, 1953, Castro and a group of Cuban revolutionaries attacked the Moncada barracks with its garrison of one thousand soldiers. The attack failed, but it marked the beginning of a revolutionary movement, named after the day of the attack, "the 26th of July Movement." During the ensuing years this movement constituted the major opposition to the authoritarian regime of Batista. After a bitter struggle, which during its final phases took the form of a civil war, Fidel Castro and his movement gained complete control over Cuba in January 1959. His success was due primarily to the widespread dissatisfaction with the government of Batista, and secondarily to the appeal of his program of political and social reform. After Castro became head of state, he first appointed moderate leftwing nationalists to key positions, but by the end of his first year in power he had replaced many of these with extreme leftists. By the end of the second year Castro and his government had adopted Marxism-Leninism as the state ideology for Cuba.

SELECTED ANALYTIC CONCLUSIONS

The question often arises as to why a social revolution occurred in Cuba in the 1950's and not in a more economically downtrodden and politically oppressed Latin American country. In looking over the Cuban record, the analyst finds that during the revolutionary period Cuba was enjoying relative prosperity: the island was one of the leading industrial countries in Latin America and it offered its population one of the highest living standards in the area. Moreover, Batista certainly was not the harshest dictator in Latin America. The restrictions that he imposed and the extreme counterrevolutionary measures that he employed and the manner in which he employed them were the results of the growing revolutionary movement and not the causes. A tentative answer to the question may lie in analyses of the weaknesses of the political system, socio-economic conditions, and the form and dynamics of the revolutionary movement.[b]

[b] No assumption is made that any given set of social, economic, or political conditions will inevitably lead to a revolution. Such conditions are assumed only to provide a favorable environment for a revolutionary movement, although they may be directly related to the formation of a revolutionary movement in many cases.

Environmental Factors

To understand the significance and the interplay of the environmental factors that contributed to the revolution, the analyst must attempt to look at them from the point of view of the principal actors of the revolution—the middle-class intellectuals and professionals. As a group, these actors may be partially characterized by similarities in education, aspirations, and social status. They were young idealists and carried with them an eclectic body of Socialist and nationalist convictions. Some courted a Marxist interpretation of history and its criticisms of capitalism, which they identified with concentration of wealth and political power in Cuba.

Economic

The more radical actors attributed what they viewed as inequalities and injustices in Cuban society to basic economic weaknesses that had remained unchanged since Cuba had become a nation. For this reason the issues of heavy foreign investment in Cuba, the concentration of land, the single-crop character of the economy, or other economically related questions held primary importance in the charges made against Batista, and later against Cuba's powerful northern neighbor, the United States. It matters little if the objective conditions of the Cuban economy were comparable to conditions in other societies where no revolutionary situation existed; political consciousness of these objective conditions led to subjective motivations and contributed to development of a revolutionary situation.

It is difficult to weigh the importance of Cuban sentiment against foreign investments, particularly those of the United States, as a factor in the Cuban Revolution. However, three facts are apparent: (1) U.S. private investments in Cuba were extensive, and in protecting these investments the U.S. Government exerted considerable influence in Cuban domestic politics; (2) reciprocal trade agreements with the United States, though advantageous to Cuba, placed the island in the category of semicolonial nations; and (3) though tactfully subdued during the actual fighting stage of the revolution, resentment against "foreign control" of the Cuban economy remained a live issue.

Despite the fact that the Platt Amendment, which gave the U.S. Government legal influence over Cuban politics, was repealed in 1934, many Cuban intellectuals maintained that in terms of economics, "Plattism" was still in effect in the 1950's. This attitude carried the thesis that "true" Cuban independence could not be achieved until the nation was free from foreign economic domination. To many it seemed that

Batista's government had willingly committed itself to the service of foreign business interests in return for self-enrichment.

Postrevolutionary preoccupation with extensive agrarian reform programs gives the impression that a land problem had been basic prior to the period of the revolutionary struggle. This problem, however, was incidental and only a part of a much more elemental problem: the overwhelming dependence of the economy upon sugar cultivation.

Although sugar cultivation brought relative prosperity to Cuba, it also gave rise to a number of economic problems with attendant social instabilities. First, efficient and profitable sugar production called for the concentration of large tracts of land around plantations and sugar mills. Consequently, numerous small landholders lost their land and were compelled to seek job opportunities in the overcrowded cities and around the expanding sugar mills; others remained in isolated rural areas and became virtually cut off from health and educational opportunities. Second, Cuban industry became so engrossed in growing and milling sugar that many important food items as well as non-sugar manufactures were neglected and had to be imported. This in turn reinforced dependence on sugar production. Third, the price received for sugar on a fluctuating world market determined boom or depression in Cuba. Finally, sugar production offered only seasonal employment to the sugar workers so that during the dead season nearly a quarter of the working people remained idle.

Cuban governments attempted to solve the problems arising out of its lopsided economy by legislation intended to diversify agriculture and to develop non-sugar industry. The 1940 Constitution included provisions to control sugar production, limit the size of landholdings owned by sugar plantations, and distribute unused land to landless peasants. The government also set up protective tariffs to encourage the development of non-sugar industry. These gestures were usually weak and poorly timed, however, and a balanced economy was never achieved. The provisions of the Constitution were seldom enforced, and despite the protective tariffs, Cuban industries were never able to compete with U.S. imports. Individuals in the government received their share of profits derived from the *status quo* and were reluctant to change it.

The radical revolutionists used the issue of agrarian reform to strike at the economic and social roots of their powerful enemy, the Batista government. Although land reform (i.e., wide distribution of land) became the basis of Castro's revolutionary program for postrevolutionary Cuba and won him a nominal following, objective agricultural conditions indicate that the Cuban "land problem" per se was

not critical.[c] In the first place, the majority of Cubans were urbanized workers and as such would be highly unaffected by a large-scale program of land distribution. Secondly, most Cubans who worked in the rural areas were transient wageworkers living in an industrial monetary society, not self-sufficient peasants who depended on subsistence farming and who would have benefited most from wide distribution of land. Agrarian reform would have involved only a small portion of the population. Thirdly, the large estates (especially sugar) could not be broken up without destroying the entire Cuban economy. The revolutionary government presumably realized this fact and it is perhaps the reason why it kept the estates intact and placed them under the supervision of a governmental agency. After the revolution very little land was parcelled out to "landless peasants."

Unlike the 1933 uprising, in which the working class joined with intellectuals and the lower echelon of the military to overthrow the government, the revolution of the fifties noticeably lacked the mass participation of the workers. Prior to the 1933 uprising, labor conditions were deplorable and organized labor was denied legal status. Post-1933 social and labor legislation had so improved the general well-being of the working class, and organized labor had become so politically influential that as a class the workers were hesitant to participate in a movement that could possibly jeopardize their newly won relative wealth and power. Although the revolution was eventually declared by the revolutionary government to have been made in the name of the working class, objective indicators of the workers' economic situation since the revolution show a drop in their standard of living. For example, wages are lower, workers often work overtime without pay, workmen's compensation programs have been abandoned, etc.

Social

While there seems to have been little economic justification for the urbanized workers to rise against the government in the 1950's, Cuban society over the years appears to have generated some degree of dissatisfaction among elements of the urban middle and rural lower classes. The aspirations of the members of the middle class for a standard of living and social status commensurate with their education and their own estimate of their capabilities were continually frustrated by two obstacles: The success of the upper class in maintaining its wealth and political power and the inability of the Cuban economy to provide "adequate" employment and other opportunities especially for the members of the professional middle class. Highly educated professionals

[c] One noted area specialist writes: "Cuba did not have an agrarian problem."[1]

were underemployed and many took on jobs outside their professions to maintain what they considered a standard of living consistent with their social status. These middle-class professionals formed the nucleus of the revolutionary movement against Batista, but the majority of them did not benefit from the success of the revolution.

The people who benefited from the revolution were those who were most neglected prior to the revolution—the rural lower class. In general, they lacked medical facilities, educational opportunities, and adequate housing; they were illiterate, plagued with nutritional deficiencies and parasitical diseases, and lived in huts made of grass and mud. Some refused to migrate to the cities or around the sugar mills and remained isolated in inaccessible places, having little contact with the outside world. They were eventually won over by the guerrillas who operated in the countryside during the revolution, and some actively participated in guerrilla operations during the fighting.

Political

However, it was the elements of the intellectual and professional middle class, the marginal group, that initiated the revolutionary movement against the Batista government. In its primary stages this far-reaching social revolution gave no evidence of being more than a "simple" protest movement against political oppression. This is one of the most important lessons of the Cuban Revolution. From 1940 to 1952, Cuba, for the first time in its history as an independent nation, had experienced a form of democratic political process. During this period the political climate was such that those who had previously been denied political status were able to organize the electorate into political parties and to assert their influence in governing the nation. Three times—in 1940, 1944, and 1948—popular and relatively honest elections were held. The campaign for the elections of 1952 promised even greater political reform. In March 1952, however, Fulgencio Batista, a presidential candidate running behind other candidates in a pre-election poll, ended this democratic development by organizing elements of the army and overthrowing the incumbent government in a relatively bloodless coup d'etat. He immediately dissolved congress, suspended the Constitution, and moved against his critics.

Although Batista's illegal seizure of power was the immediate concern of those who led the revolution, the revolutionary situation was intensified by other inveterate, unresolved political weaknesses. Outstanding among them was the government's ineptitude which generally included: its failure to institute machinery to cope with the exigencies of changing political and economic situations; a contradiction between constitutional theory and governmental practice; the government's

dependence on a foreign power, namely the United States, to maintain economic stability; its half-hearted attempts to establish a sound economic base independent of a foreign power by legislation unsupported by effective enforcement. All of these elements of ineptitude were perpetuated by the traditional regard of political office as an opportunity for self-enrichment.

Another major weakness in the political system was the instability generated by certain conditions in party politics. Most recognizable was *personalismo,* a situation in which a political movement is formed around the personality of its founder rather than around a sound political philosophy. This *personalismo* inevitably resulted in the fragmentation of established national parties and factionalism within the ruling elite. The jealous competition between political leaders to gain personal control of the government, the attendant distrust and violence between competing political groups, and the lack of a tradition of restraint and compromise all contributed to the instability of the governmental process.

Dynamics of Revolution

Actors and Organization

The fragmentation and factionalism which engendered jealous competition among political groups was also prevalent among the various revolutionary organizations which made up the total revolutionary effort in the 1950's. The initial actions of several small conspiratorial groups who attempted to overthrow Batista shortly after he seized power inspired other groups to organize and follow the same pattern. By the end of 1958 there existed a variety of underground organizations, several of them supporting small guerrilla armies in the mountains, each operating independently, each attempting to establish predominance over the revolutionary situation. There was some genuine cooperation between these groups, especially after July 1958 when most of them signed an agreement pledging unified action, but in general they tended to preserve their independent efforts throughout most of the fighting phase of the revolution.

Opposition to Batista began almost immediately after he seized power in March 1952. The years 1952–56 saw a number of sporadic and disjointed uprisings growing out of local conspiracies, gaining little popular support, and easily put down by the government forces. During this time various revolutionary organizations took form. Leaders emerged to train recruits in operational techniques of guerrilla warfare and to establish supporting underground networks throughout the island and in foreign countries.

The strongest and most publicized paramilitary organization during the Cuban Revolution was the 26th of July Movement, headed by Fidel Castro and encamped in the mountains of the Sierra Maestra. Although its operations were small and concentrated in the easternmost part of Oriente Province, the movement was extensive compared with other guerrilla groups in other areas of Cuba. Its functions were both military and political: combatant and noncombatant units, organized along military lines, met the enemy in small skirmishes and performed auxiliary duties; a civil organization under military command organized the local population in support of military operations, and also governed through an administrative council which took on executive, legislative, and judicial functions.

Underground organizations operating in urban centers in Cuba and in over 60 foreign cities in the Western Hemisphere supported or complemented the guerrilla groups operating in the rural areas. Some, student groups mostly, were loosely organized and operated sporadically. Others, such as the 26th of July Movement and its close ally, the Civic Resistance Movement, were the largest, the most elaborately organized, and the most effective. They worked in conjunction with the guerrilla groups by continually supplying them with arms, ammunition, and manpower. The majority of Cubans actively involved in revolutionary activities belonged to underground groups.

Techniques

The fighting stage of the revolution, which began in December 1956 when Fidel Castro and a small expeditionary force invaded Cuba from Mexico, was a two-pronged war on the government forces: guerrilla warfare in the rural areas and underground activities in the cities.

The guerrilla units operating in the rural areas of Cuba did not defeat Batista's army of over 30,000 men in any military sense. Instead, they succeeded in having Batista defeat himself. For over one year the guerrilla units, highly dependent on the local population for supplies, intelligence, and recruits, remained in the mountains concentrating mainly on preserving and expanding their numbers and waiting for a mass uprising that never materialized. The sole military tactic used at this time was to ambush military outposts and patrols to capture arms and ammunition.

In the spring of 1958, the guerrillas changed their strategy and shifted into full-scale revolutionary warfare which included hit-and-run raids, sabotage, and bombings. Guerrilla targets at this time were generally the island's communication system. The general objective was to isolate government outposts and to curtail economic activity in the

eastern part of the island. Military engagements between the two sides were few and indecisive.

This activity in the rural areas was accompanied by increased sabotage and terror in the cities, gnawing away at the foundations of the government.[2] Although the underground failed to initiate a nationwide strike, propaganda, assassinations, bombings, and acts of sabotage effectively kept more than half of the security forces occupied in the cities.

Batista met terror with terror. His police force and Rural Guard indiscriminately arrested, tortured, and murdered countless victims (primarily students), and created a wave of revulsion among the entire Cuban population, including the army. Batista's own countermeasures were, in effect, working against him. Loyalties were weakened and many Cubans felt only contempt for their "incompetent" government. When Batista launched an offensive against the guerrillas in May 1958, his army failed to carry it out successfully. Military disaffection and disputes within the high command and the lower ranks became widespread. The three strong pillars upon which the power of Batista's regime rested—the army, organized labor, and the conservative elements—gradually withdrew their support and in December 1958 left him with little choice but to leave Cuba.

Thus, the action of the underground forces in the cities more than the action of the guerrillas in the mountains was responsible for bringing about the downfall of the Batista government. Revolutionary warfare in Cuba was a waiting game. Its tactics were not aimed at defeating the enemy in the military sense, but at provoking him into retaliatory methods so extreme that they alienated the entire population and promoted the demoralization of the soldiers and officers.[3] The "conspicuous military virtue" of the guerrilla forces, on the one hand,

> was their ability to maintain a high volume of fire under conditions which could have discouraged less motivated fighters. This virtue fully exploited the major weaknesses of the well-equipped government forces, which was a near paralysis of the will to fire at all.[4]

The conspicuous virtue of the underground forces, on the other hand, was their ability not only to support the guerrilla forces in the mountains but to endure the bulk of the extreme countermeasures inflicted on them by the government forces until the government collapsed.

Summary to Selected Analytic Conclusions

In some respects the Cuban Revolution of the late 1950's may be considered as a revitalization of the gradual revolution that had been taking place since 1930, which in the eyes of some had been interrupted by the military coup of Batista in 1952. While the population in general did not consider Batista a detriment to its well-being, one sector, the students and young professionals, viewed Batista as an obstacle to the attainment of their rightful political position. While it is true that the most radical elements of the revolutionary leadership thought that Cuba needed deep economic and social changes in order to find a solution to the problem of unemployment and a semicolonial economy based on a one-crop system, the greater part of the opposition to Batista wanted political changes. At no time did any of the revolutionary groups offer a platform of a major social, political, and economic upheaval along Communist lines. The majority of Cuban people who supported the revolution were thinking not in terms of radical economic and social reforms, but the return to constitutionality, honesty in government administration, and the breaking of the vicious circle of terror and counterterror.

Some members of Batista's opposition, unable to arouse popular support for their protest or to achieve success in the political arena, devoted themselves to underground terrorist activity and guerrilla warfare. These tactics proved successful not as military operations, but as a means of provoking Batista into the use of harsh restrictive measures and counterterrorism which, in the end, further alienated the general population. With his base of support thus disaffected, Batista had no choice but to leave Cuba. Fidel Castro, who controlled the best organized and most publicized revolutionary group, was on hand to fill the power vacuum left by Batista.

PART I—FACTORS INDUCING REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC MALADJUSTMENT

Foreign Control of the Economy

Spanish Legacy

By the time Cuba had achieved its independence from Spain, an economic system had developed on the island that was to remain characteristically Cuban for over half a century. Agriculture and commerce dominated economic activities, and manufacturing and food processing were at a low stage of development. Sugar was the most important cash crop and the United States was Cuba's biggest sugar market.

Between 1763 and 1823 the Spanish Crown instituted moderate administrative and economic reforms, and Cuba experienced a period of rapid economic expansion and a free exchange of goods with Europe and North America. After 1823, however, Spanish rule became more severe, and Spain saddled Cuba with trade restrictions and a heavy system of taxation which protected Spanish goods from foreign competition. The burden of these economic policies fell on the large group of rural proprietors who were well-to-do and desirous of economic progress and political autonomy. Moreover, Cuban commerce until 1898 was largely in the hands of Spanish monopolists, a fact which became the economic basis for the independence movement in the 1890's. The rural proprietors, allying themselves with middle-class groups, supported an independence movement, and with the active participation of the United States they overthrew Spanish rule in 1898.

Foreign Influence After 1898

The only foreign investor "of any consequence" in Cuba after 1898 was the United States. U.S. private investment had risen from $205 million in 1911 to $919 million in 1929. Investment declined between 1929 and 1946, but moved upward again after 1946 so that in 1954 the United States had approximately $713 million invested in Cuba,[5] and between $800 million and $1 billion by 1958.[6]

The United States began to play a major role in the economic and political development of Cuba even before the turn of the century. The pattern of Cuban-United States relations, however, was not established until after Cuba won its independence from Spain. To the United States Cuba was important in two ways: it was a strategic military outpost for the protection of the Panama Canal, and an excellent outlet for capital. Although the U.S. Government resisted pressure from business groups to annex Cuba after Spanish rule was overthrown, a U.S. military mission was sent to prepare the island for the creation of a Cuban Government friendly to the United States. And as U.S. investment and

Cuban-United States trade increased after the turn of the century, the U.S. Government took on the role of guarantor of stability and order in Cuba for the protection of U.S. life and property.

U.S. military rule in Cuba ended in 1902, but U.S. economic-political influence persisted even after the newly elected Cuban Government took office. The controversial Platt Amendment,[a] which was a political result of increasing foreign economic investment, "provided the basis for later United States intervention in Cuba and became the focus for Cuban nationalist reaction against the United States."[7] Article three of the Amendment stipulated that the United States retained the right to intervene in Cuban affairs "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty. . . ."[8] U.S. business interests in Cuba often sought the use of the Amendment for the protection of their investments. In a series of instances in which Cuban political groups violently opposed each other, the U.S. Government regarded such situations with concern and sent marines to "guard" U.S. property. The last of such incidents occurred in 1917 when an allegedly fraudulent election provoked a political group into an open revolt. Some U.S. Marine units were landed in Oriente Province, but they did not participate in the revolt; the Cuban Government itself was able to put it down.

Cuban-United States economic ties were altered in the early thirties after Cuba had experienced both economic prosperity and economic disaster in the 1920's. The U.S. Government under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a treaty in May 1934 whereby the United States relinquished its right to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs. A reciprocity treaty which made possible considerable tariff reductions, and sugar quotas which granted Cuba higher than world market prices for its sugar further enhanced "good neighbor" relations.[9]

From that time Cuban-United States ties remained relatively unchanged until 1959; and the United States, as a market for sugar and a source of imports, continued to carry much influence in Cuba. In 1955, for instance, U.S. business interests were purchasing 73.4 percent of Cuba's total exports, while Cuba was purchasing 68.9 percent of her imports from the United States.[10] At that time sugar and its derivatives accounted for 79.8 percent of Cuba's exports.[11] U.S. business by the middle fifties controlled over 90 percent of the telephone and electric services, about 50 percent in public service railways, about 40 percent of raw sugar production, and its banks were entrusted with nearly

[a] The Platt Amendment was part of a military appropriations bill which was passed In the U.S. Congress for the fiscal year 1901–02. It was incorporated into the first Cuban Constitution.

25 percent of Cuban bank deposits.[12] Other investments such as mining and oil refining increased to high levels in the late fifties.[13]

Cuban governments, prompted by strong nationalist elements, at times set up protective tariffs for its small and slowly developing domestic non-sugar industry; but despite these efforts Cuban producers were never able to compete with imports from the United States. " . . . over the years private Cuban and American commercial arrangements tended to restrict Cuban trade to the United States and to discourage the development in Cuba of import-substituting industries."[14] Cuban ties with the United States brought obvious prosperity to many of the island's inhabitants, but only at the sacrifice of developing Cuban national potentiality and economic independence.

Summary

Spain controlled Cuba's economy through systems of trade restrictions and taxation until its rule was overthrown late in the 19th century. After the turn of this century, U.S. business investment in Cuba and close Cuban-United States commercial ties shaped the island's economic system. The Platt Amendment, until 1934, and the extent of U.S. investment gave the United States a large hand in Cuban economics and politics. Consequently, a strong undercurrent of Cuban nationalism was directed at what was regarded by the Cubans as undue U.S. interference.

Concentration of Land and Landless Peasants

Rise of Large Sugar Estates (Latifundias) and Land Concentration

In the colonial period the Spanish Crown awarded large land grants to colonists. During the last half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries many of the large haciendas were subdivided. In this period of change in land ownership in Cuba a large class of well-to-do and enterprising rural proprietors became firmly established and solidly organized.[15]

There were, however, economic forces at work militating against this wide distribution. During the same period the sugar industry was expanding rapidly to a position of dominance in the Cuban economy. The application of steampower to industry, other great technological advances of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the opening of new markets increased the efficiency of the methods of sugar production and the incentive for further expansion. However, sugar production received its greatest impetus in the late 19th century, when railroad construction was stimulated by a drop in steel prices. Until then primitive means of transporting cane to the mills had limited the areas which a single mill

could serve. With railroads, the organization of sugar production was improved and the areas of operations were enlarged throughout most of the island.

In the late 19th and 20th centuries sugar corporations felt it necessary to acquire their own land in order to assure the *centrales* (sugar mills) an adequate supply of cane and to increase the efficiency of sugar production. Many small proprietors who held legal titles to their land were bought out by the corporations. Those who held questionable titles were brought to court and lost their land through legal procedures. Small proprietors of cane farms were largely eliminated in the process, and the corporations effected complete control of sugar production from the field to the mill.

Although sugar production increased rapidly during the same period the number of sugar mills decreased considerably, indicating a steady concentration of land. Between 1877 and 1915 the number of mills went down from 1,190 to 170. In the years 1925–26 it was reported that the *centrales* owned 20 percent of Cuba's total land area. In the 1940's four sugar companies owned 25 percent of Cuban lands that were in the hands of the *centrales*.[16] At that time 7.9 percent of the *centrales* and other plantations occupied 71.1 percent of the land.[17]

> Thus in the long course of Cuban history the land that once was distributed widely among the inhabitants, either in the form of separate holdings or in communal ranches, became concentrated in the twentieth century in the hands of a few.[18]

The sugar *centrales* expanded and the rural population, once composed of small proprietors, was uprooted and became a class of tenant farmers, wageworkers, and landless peasants.

The Agrarian Reform Question

During the 1920's, and especially after the U.S. depression brought disaster to the Cuban economy in 1930, newly rising political elements from the professional middle class increasingly demanded stringent governmental control over sugar production and urged wide distribution of large estates among the landless peasants. This was one of the major issues responsible for the overthrow of the Machado government in 1933. As a result, a series of sugar control acts was instituted in the years that followed, but influential domestic and foreign sugar corporations, politically powerful since the late 19th century, nevertheless remained largely in control of sugar production. A provision in the 1940 Constitution to reduce the size of large sugar estates was never enforced.

Demands for agrarian reform and wide distribution of land were again heard with increasing force from 1953 to 1959. One of the most outspoken proponents of land distribution at this time was Fidel Castro. He supported a land program (based on the principle that those who cultivate the land should own it) whereby land would be distributed to small planters and peasants, with indemnification to former owners. Appeals for land distribution and the implementation of the neglected agrarian reform provision in the 1940 Constitution seemed to have won him some support from the landless peasants, but he had no very strong following among rural wage laborers, tenant farmers, and rural landowners. Nevertheless, Castro continued to build propaganda based upon the ills of the agricultural economy during the fighting stage of the revolution and his proposed remedies became one major foundation for his revolutionary platform.

Summary

Toward the end of the 19th century expanding sugar corporations in Cuba began to acquire large tracts of land that previously had been widely distributed among Cuban agriculturists. By 1920 much of the tillable land was in the hands of large plantations. From the late twenties on, in reaction to this concentration, there were demands for strong governmental controls over the operations of sugar corporations and a redistribution of land to landless rural workers; but these demands were ignored. Although Fidel Castro made agrarian reform the theme of his revolutionary movement in the 1950's, it did not attract him a large following.

Absence of Diversified Economy

Factors Which Prompted the Development of Sugar Production

It was not by chance alone that Cuba became the world's leading producer and exporter of sugar. A number of factors, both natural and political, combined to make sugar cultivation the dominant feature of the island's economy. Cuba has land that is ideally suited to agriculture. Fifty-two percent, or 23,000 square miles (approximately 15 million acres), of the land is "suitable for cropping," giving Cuba an unusually high ratio of tillable land.[19] Spanish colonists first planted sugar on this land in the 16th century, but sugar cultivation did not gain importance until the 18th century.

World social and economic changes in the 18th century drastically altered the use of land in Cuba. The application of steampower to industry which revolutionized the milling process of sugar was mentioned earlier. But the most important changes were brought about by

the upheavals in France and the Anglo-American colonies. The revolution in France slackened French rule over Haiti—which had been, until then, Europe's greatest source of sugar and coffee—and precipitated an uprising of slaves in 1789. As a consequence, prices of these commodities rose sharply. French colonists fled to Cuba, taking with them many technical improvements in sugar refining, and the Cuban sugar industry expanded on a grand scale. The American Revolution, on the other hand, ended British rule of the Anglo-American states, offering Cuba a welcome "next door" sugar market. These social and economic changes occurred during the period between 1763 and 1823, when the Spanish Crown instituted moderate reforms. As a result, Cuban trade restrictions were relaxed and there was a free exchange of goods between Cuba and her foreign markets.

A good supply of slave labor and extensive railroad construction in the 19th century further stimulated sugar production. Slaves had been imported into Cuba in small trickles from West Africa for nearly two centuries, but the increased labor demands of expanding sugar and coffee production stepped up slave trading in the early 1800's. After Cuban slavery was abolished in 1886, Jamaican, Haitian, Chinese, and Mexican immigrants supplied the necessary labor for Cuban agriculture. Railroad construction, as mentioned earlier, added another and a very important impetus to sugar cultivation.

Sugar Cultivation; Investment of Land, Labor, and Capital

At least since the turn of the 20th century, the Cuban economy has been built largely around growing and milling sugar. Sugar not only became the main industry, but it also became the basis for the national economy and Cuba's main source of income. Consequently, the development of other basic foodstuffs and export crops was sorely neglected.

Before the advent of Castro, more than one-half of the cultivated land was devoted to sugar, and close to one-fourth of the labor force was employed in sugar cultivation; sugar and its by-products comprised approximately 80 percent of the value of Cuban exports.[20] Much of the land that could have been utilized to grow other crops lay idle during periods of low sugar demand; and in periods of high demand, forest lands were destroyed and millions of fine tropical hardwoods were cut down and burned to clear new areas for sugar growing.

There is no doubt that after 1920 sugar was responsible for making Cuba the fifth-ranking industrial country in Latin America[21] and for extending relative prosperity to the island's population. However, concentrating on sugar cultivation also presented Cuba with a number of serious problems. The sugar industry is seasonal: it offers 4 to 6 months of full employment to farmworkers during the period when

sugar is harvested and brought to the mills, but there are 6 to 8 months of unemployment during the dead period between harvests. Moreover, profits from sugar depend on a fluctuating world market price. This offers high returns for sugar when the demand is high, but seriously drains foreign exchange reserves used to purchase food imports and other foreign manufactures when sugar demand is low. Cuba was so dominated by sugar from 1920 to 1950 that the quantity produced and sold determined the employment situation, the volume of national retail sales and purchases, and the amount of traffic over railroads and in harbors. In other words, sugar commanded nearly the entire Cuban economy.

There were times when the government, prompted by protectionist-nationalist elements, encouraged diversification of agriculture and industry and attempted to solve the basic economic problems resulting from overdependence on sugar production. But these efforts were ill-timed. During times of prosperity when the government had at its disposal the means and opportunity to diversify and expand its economic base, it failed to do so. Only during times of economic crises did it adopt remedial measures, "which provided the motive but not the means for change."[22] Attracted by greater and faster returns, private investors, both domestic and foreign, plowed their capital into sugar production and showed little or no interest in promoting and developing non-sugar export industries and home-market consumer goods for the home market.

In an effort to expand Cuba's economic base the government took on greater economic responsibility in the 1950's and established a number of credit institutions and a grand scale development plan. The National Bank, legally authorized in 1948, became fully operative in mid-1950. The Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank was established in 1950 to promote rural credit and industrial development. Many new autonomous government credit institutions flourished during the period up to 1959. Batista's new Economic and Social Development Plan which included tax incentives and easier credit was put into effect in 1954 to reduce unemployment and increase production. This ambitious plan called for the expenditure of 350 million Cuban pesos (1 peso=l dollar) over a 4-year period.[23]

These measures did not result in more industrial and agricultural diversification, however. Economic plans to promote short-term public works programs were initiated, and although large sums were spent, many of the projects were extravagant and unsound. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development declared the construction of a tunnel under Havana harbor uneconomical and advised the Cuban Government against it.[24] The government went ahead nevertheless and

spent $30 million on the project.[25] Public works programs temporarily eliminated widespread unemployment and contributed to the general prosperity during the fifties, but they also contributed to an inflationary trend that had not been halted by the time Castro came to power. Furthermore, the government's loose and easy credit facilities only led to patronage and privilege which resulted in corruption within the government.[26]

> There was some diversification and new investment in these years, but at no time were the changes introduced by the government and private enterprise of such a scope as to overcome the dominance of sugar in an otherwise static economy.[27]

Summary

Fertile soil and world social and economic changes gave Cuba an opportunity to develop a prosperous economy based on the cultivation of a single export crop—sugar. Over the years land, labor, and capital were heavily invested in sugar cultivation while the production of other basic needed items were neglected. The problem in this type of lopsided economy is that the whole country, in order to maintain economic stability, depends on world demand and world prices for its one product; little demand and low prices for sugar on the world market brought economic disaster to Cuba. The government made some attempts to expand the country's economic base in the 1950's; but its efforts were directed toward large-scale public works programs which contributed to increased prosperity but also contributed to patronage, government excesses, and inflation. Sugar production continued to dominate the Cuban economy.

Unemployment and Underemployment

Chronic Unemployment

Each year prior to 1959 thousands of Cubans faced unemployment and poverty as a consequence of the seasonal character of sugar cultivation, Cuban's major source of income. A potentially full employment situation existed only during the 4 to 6 month periods of each year when sugar was harvested and brought to the mills. At the close of the harvest, the seasonally employed found themselves without work. They were unable to save enough of their income to carry them from one season to another, and unless they were fortunate enough to find alternate job opportunities during the dead season, they lived on credit until the

next harvest. One bad harvest or a low sugar demand on the world market brought disastrous results to thousands of Cuban workers.

According to U.S. Department of Commerce figures, an estimated 400,000–450,000 workers (over 20 percent of the total labor force of over 2 million) were unemployed during the 1952 dead season. Even at the peak of the 1953 harvest, unemployment was still at 174,000 or over 8 percent of the labor force.[28]

The unemployment situation was certainly much more acute in the rural areas than in the cities where employment was steadier; only about 12 percent of the rural workers were employed throughout the year.[29] However, even the cities faced the prospect of job shortages when large numbers of unemployed sugar workers arrived during the dead season in search of alternate employment. Moreover, the urban labor force was increased yearly when rural workers, attracted by higher wages and better working conditions, migrated to the cities and added to the list of underemployed and unemployed. They settled in city slums and took on whatever odd jobs they could find.

Thus, a 20–25 percent unemployment figure was normal in prerevolutionary Cuba. This is a relatively high figure considering that only during the worst year of the depression did unemployment in the United States reach 25 percent, and has ranged from 5 to 8 percent during the last decade.

Social Legislation Subsequent to the 1933 Uprising

Labor conditions were relatively bad in Cuba during the late twenties. The country was in a critical economic state and the government, attempting to stabilize the economy, often instituted measures that eliminated the rights and protections of workers and showed little consideration for their welfare. Agricultural and industrial workers who were fortunate enough to find jobs worked long hours under arduous conditions at very low salaries. Labor unions were outlawed and labor organizers were persecuted by government authorities. Labor conditions became so intolerable by 1933 that the workers struck against the government and helped to overthrow President Gerardo Machado. The strike paralyzed industries in Havana and later spread to the sugar mills as workers took complete control over a number of them. Labor unrest continued and chaos prevailed during 1934 and 1935 until the army, under the leadership of Fulgencio Batista, checked the revolutionary aspects of organized labor, arrested its leaders, and dissolved the National Labor Confederation (CNOC). Since then no "regime has failed to manifest interest in and concern for the working classes."[30]

After the feud between government and organized labor ended in the late thirties, a close association that had advantages for both

sides developed and was maintained until 1959. In exchange for supporting the government and its allied political parties, organized labor received numerous privileges and favorable decisions in disputes with its employers. Frequent government interventions, chiefly in favor of urban labor, placed management in an inferior position and "undermined the principle of collective bargaining."[31] Labor's excessive demands often discouraged new investments, prevented many small home-market consumer goods industries from expanding, and led others into bankruptcy.

Labor conditions improved considerably as many important social and labor measures were adopted or expanded in the thirties and incorporated into the 1940 Constitution. The 8-hour day was introduced (6 hours for workers between 14 and 18 years of age), a minimum wage scale was established, and workers were protected from being dismissed by their employers. Equal pay for equal work, "paid" vacations and holidays, and Christmas bonuses were among the benefits received by all workers. Women workers also received maternity benefits and were restricted by law from taking dangerous jobs. Laws restricted the employment of children under 14. A number of provisions for the protection of the aged and unemployed were embodied in the 1940 Constitution, but by the middle fifties they had not been enforced. Workmen's compensation for injuries, sickness, and death was expanded. In general, these measures represented a body of labor legislation comparable to those existing in many advanced industrial countries. These measures were designed essentially for urban labor, however, and a large segment of the rural population was left without the benefit and protection of social and labor legislation.

Workers continued to benefit from the government's pro-labor policies under the administrations of Ramón Grau San Martín and Carlos Prío Socarrás. Fulgencio Batista, however, attempted to bring the interests of organized labor into line with the interests of management after his coup d'etat in 1952[b] and "made some notable departures from the pro-labor practices of previous administrations."[32] His government refrained from intervening in labor-management disputes, permitted management to limit featherbedding arrangements, allowed some wages to be lowered and production bonuses to be eliminated. Despite these departures, working conditions were generally good and living standards had improved so that by the middle fifties Cuban urban laborers were experiencing one of the highest standards of living in Latin America, and Batista maintained the support of urban labor throughout his second regime (1952–58).

[b] Batista overthrew the government headed by Prío in March 1952.

Summary

Following the revolution in 1933 a mutually beneficial alliance between government and labor was established and maintained during the succeeding years until 1959. Although organized urban labor received many benefits and the general standard of living was raised, the basic problem of chronic unemployment and the lack of equivalent social benefits for rural labor remained unchanged.

SOCIAL ANTAGONISM

Tensions Within the Social Structure

Class

Class characteristics of Cuban society. Except for the rise of urban labor in the twenties and thirties and the slow development of professional and commercial groups resulting from the shift in the organization of sugar production, the social structure (particularly rural) did not change in the years before Castro. Three classes were evident from an economic point of view: an upper class composed of the wealthy landowners and owners and operators of large business enterprises; a middle class of educated professionals, small merchants, army officers, and the government bureaucracy; a lower class of uneducated peasants and agricultural and urban wageworkers.

The upper and lower classes were well defined. Those who "worked with their hands" or hired other people to do their work belonged to the upper class. They were the landed and the moneyed class—remnants of the old colonial aristocracy, and self-made individuals who had accumulated their fortunes in this century through a combination of business and politics. Their power and prestige were based mainly on their economic position. Those who "worked with their hands" and hired themselves out to do other people's work were in the lower class. The urban lower class, developing in size and power in this century, included the industrial workers both in city centers and in sugar *centrales*. They experienced a much higher standard of living than their rural counterparts—a situation which promoted the growth of the urban population.[33]

The middle class was not so well defined, however.[34] It was composed mainly of professional and commercial bureaucratic groups whose members came from the prosperous lower class and the younger generation of the upper class, whose values they carried with them. Although it was possible to move from the lower middle class to the upper middle class (largely dependent on university training in traditionally esteemed fields such as law and medicine), the middle class

was generally unstable and aspired to a better life and progress. Its members showed little interest in overthrowing the social order, but they also showed little interest in supporting an arbitrary government resting on the military and the rural *status quo*.

Interacting class tensions from 1933 to 1959. The general unrest which prevailed in the late twenties and culminated in the 1933 uprising followed a period of post-World War I prosperity that was referred to by Cubans as the "Dance of the Millions." This era witnessed the rapid expansion of the sugar industry and the creation of new wealth. Prosperity was not widely distributed, however. Profits remained largely in the hands of mill owners and landed proprietors, both Cuban and foreign, who united to form a new elite similar to the old colonial upper class which was based on a plantation economy. The revolution in 1933 destroyed this new class before it became firmly established.

Three elements combined to carry out the revolution in 1933: Socialist-minded middle-class intellectuals, Communist-led labor unions, and the military rank-and-file. The new aspirants to power, young professionals and labor leaders, brought to the struggle new leftwing convictions of central control and governmental initiative to raise the economic, social, and cultural levels of all Cubans. The lower ranks of the army, led by Batista, united with the other two groups in pursuit of its own interests. This military group likewise entered the revolution with a left-of-center ideology. It helped to topple a strongly entrenched conservative government and an old conservative officer corps as well. From that time Batista and the army "ran Cuba and held the real power," but gave more attention to previously neglected urban labor.[35]

Social conditions prevalent during the resistance to Batista in the fifties were very unlike those which prevailed prior to the 1933 uprising. Cuba was enjoying a period of relative prosperity brought about by the demands of the Korean war; the world market was able to absorb a large share of Cuba's sugar production at high prices. During this period Cuban wage earners were receiving a larger share of the national income. The share rose from 59 percent to 65 percent between 1950 and 1954.[36] Per capita income averaged $312 during those years. This is a low figure by U.S. and Western European standards, but it represented one of the highest per capita incomes in Latin America. Cuba not only maintained this relatively high standard of living for its growing population, but upon occasion managed to improve it to some degree.[37]

Cuba was by no stretch of the imagination a paradise before the advent of Castro; it was a country faced with serious social problems. Although subsistence living did not characterize the island, there were

extremes of wealth and poverty well marked between the rich in the cities and the "casually employed" agricultural laborers in the rural areas. Educational facilities and health services were concentrated in urban centers, to the neglect of the rural areas; the rural population was 41.7 percent illiterate,[38] and was plagued with nutritional deficiencies and parasitic infection. The housing situation was extremely bad: "Nearly half of the city dwellings and three-fourths of all rural dwellings were in fair or poor condition."[39]

Two groups contributed the largest share of the revolutionary effort to overthrow Batista: the professional middle class and some members of the rural lower class. Middle-class interests were entirely political while the rural lower class sought social and economic benefits. The larger part of the working class, well-organized under politically influential labor unions, had achieved a number of labor and social reforms since the thirties, and thus saw little or nothing to be gained from a revolution. It took no part in the fighting until the last few days of Batista's rule.

Race

A certain degree of racial discrimination and segregation was practiced in Cuba before 1959, although there were no strict caste lines or formal regulations which barred nonwhites from social activities or occupations. The upper class, which was almost entirely white and primarily of Spanish extraction, kept nonwhites from attending its private schools and clubs. The upper middle class avoided any type of relationship with Negroes, except on an employer-employee basis, and prevented Negroes from moving into newer residential districts. Membership in Negro societies, labor unions, and the Communist Party were the only means through which Negroes were able to obtain social status. In the professional groups, and the managerial, proprietorship and office forces, nonwhites were underrepresented. Of the total population in 1953 (5,829,029), an estimated 27.2 percent was nonwhite (Negro, oriental, and mixed). Whites outnumbered Negroes 5 to 1 in urban districts as compared with a 7 to 1 ratio in rural areas.[40] Intermarriage among the various races was common as was evidenced by a large mestizo, or mixed, population.

Except for one incident in 1911, there had been no serious racial disturbances by 1959. Extreme discriminatory practices of the colonial period persisted after independence, and as a result of Negro demands for recognition of Negro rights, an open revolt broke out in 1911; it was immediately suppressed. Three thousand Negroes were killed.[41]

Religion

Roman Catholicism, the principal religion of Cuba, lost much of its influence and source of monetary support when the colonial order was overthrown in 1898, and was constitutionally separated from the state in 1902. It was further weakened in the 1930's when the Batista government took over many of its welfare functions. The Church had never developed a "base of popular support" under Spanish rule, and after independence the Cuban masses remained indifferent, often showing outward signs of disrespect and hostility. The Church was generally associated with the upper class, whose wealthy members continued to regard religious ceremonies an indispensable feature of "upper class living." It was labeled as foreign and reactionary by middle-class nationalists. Although nominal Church membership was estimated in the 1950's at 85 percent, only about 10 percent of the Cubans participated in Church activities.[42]

Summary

The pre-1959 social structure in Cuba was composed of the upper, middle, and lower classes as defined in terms of economic wealth and political power. Generally, the position of the middle and lower classes improved considerably between the years 1933–59. Except for two groups, the professional middle class and some members of the rural lower class, the majority of Cubans were relatively content with the existing order under Batista. The tension that arose within the social structure during the 1950's was attributable on one hand to the efforts of the professional middle class to further its political influence, while on the other hand some members of the rural lower class, long neglected by the government, increased their demands for equitable social and economic benefits. The issues of race and religion were not significant points of social tension in recent Cuban society.

Demise of Traditional Society

The demise of Cuba's traditional society is defined in terms of a society in transition—developing from a society based on a plantation economy to one based on an industrializing economy. This transition could be partly described by what has already been discussed above—that is, by the broadening of the cash economy; greater participation, at least psychologically, in the island's destiny; greater mobility within the social structure; etc. In addition to the above, the transition could also be discussed in terms of sources of relative personal security and urbanization.

Sources of Relative Personal Security: Land and Sugar Mills

Land was widely distributed in separate landholdings or in communal ranches by the middle of the 19th century, and represented a source of livelihood to a large number of Cuban peasants. While it is doubtful that holdings under this system of landownership were profitably valuable to most of the individual landowners, these landowners derived a certain measure of economic security arising out of direct ownership of and contact with the soil. Moreover, the Cuban economy was not yet geared to the cultivation of a single crop and the Cubans were enjoying the security of a relatively well-developed and diversified agricultural economy (for that time-period).

Technological changes in the sugar industry brought on the expansion of the sugar latifundia, and along with this the peasants gradually lost possession of their land and thus the security related to it. Sugar *centrales* acquired vast areas of arable land in order to grow profitably one export crop. Peasants no longer directed the use of the land and either hired themselves out to the sugar mills as seasonal agricultural laborers, or became renters of land that remained under the supervision of sugar mills. Instead of experiencing the relative security that is derived from an economy of many individual proprietorships and the production of diversified crops, the Cuban peasants faced the insecurity that comes from land concentration in the hands of a few and the cultivation of a single crop that is dependent on a fluctuating world market.[43]

Urbanization and Government Protection of Lower Classes Through Social Legislation

By 1920 the expanding sugar corporations had appropriated most of Cuba's arable land in order to grow sugar and thereby gave a tremendous push to urban growth. Many peasants who could not acquire small holdings left the countryside in search of better jobs and higher wages available in the cities and around the sugar mills. The trend toward urbanization continued so that by 1953 the two kinds of urban settlements, the ordinary city and the *bateyes* (small communities located around the sugar mills), accounted for 57 percent of the total population.[44]

The new government under Batista took greater interest in bringing protection to the lower classes through social legislation after 1933. This legislation offered the people who moved to the urban areas an agreeable standard of social security in lieu of the older source of security from direct contact with the land. Prior to 1933 these people had received scant attention from the government and bureaucrats. Their "bitter frustration" grew so that eventually they participated in a revolt

that overthrew the government.[c] The new security offered by the government after 1932 tended to provide a stabilizing force in Cuban society; the working class generally supported the incumbent government and failed to respond to the call for general strikes against Batista in the 1950's. Those Cubans who did not choose to move to the cities or *batey* settlements and maintained their existence in scattered and isolated huts, received none of the social and economic benefits won by their urban counterparts. They were the Cubans who were most susceptible to Fidel Castro's revolutionary appeals.

Summary

The concentration of land for the production of sugar beginning in the 19th century forced the gradual migration of former landowners to urban centers and sugar mills. The resulting social pressures culminated in a general upheaval in 1933. Thereafter, the succeeding governments devoted more attention to the social and economic needs of urbanized Cubans and offered these people an acceptable standard of social security. A few sectors of society, particularly the isolated rural dwellers, did not share in this general improvement of living standards.

Marginality of Professional Groups

Heroes of revolutionary movements in Cuba generally have been "intellectuals."[d] Coming from well-to-do families of the commercial upper middle class, many of these young revolutionaries had the opportunity to receive a good education at private schools and universities and to become members of the professional groups. They were seldom satisfied with their society and were often anxious to alter it. Because of the impracticality of their idealistic programs, the intellectuals, when in power, usually failed in administration. The disillusionment and

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[c] "The advance of industrialization vastly expands the urban strata of the population and even gradually draws the formerly inert rural strata into politics. The rise of different organized groups conscious of their different interests and of their collective strength is bound to produce conflict," and tend toward "democratization." Any regime establishing an authoritarian system that fails to recognize these interests in an industrializing society is bound to be attacked and its survival threatened by labor and the intellectuals.[45]

[d] The Cuban poet, José Martí, who became the martyr of the independence movement, acquired his revolutionary enthusiasm from his private school teacher. Martí spent much time in prison and in exile for defying Spanish authority in Cuba. He was killed while leading a revolutionary expedition in 1895.

Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín, physician and professor at Havana University, was the leader of a radical group of students and professors in the 1933 revolution.

Fidel Castro, lawyer and revolutionist, exemplifies the recent Cuban leadership. (See *Composition of Revolutionary Actors* for Castro's background.)

frustration resulting from their failures frequently laid the groundwork for further revolutionary movements.

Role of Intellectuals in the Revolution Against Spain

Cuba had her own *philosophes* during the movement against Spain; they were called *pensadores*.[e] These intellectuals (Cuban and Spanish liberals) were writers, and nearly all of them wrote poetry. Many wrote articles for the short-lived revolutionary papers and circulars that existed in Cuba during the 19th century. Their literary tirades against Spanish rule kept them in and out of exile throughout the revolutionary period. Toward the end of the century they launched an uprising after having allied themselves with the landowning and commercial classes, who most felt the pinch of Spanish mercantile policies.

Attitude of the Professional Groups vis-a-vis Their Society Under the Republic

Members of professional groups became increasingly bitter and dissatisfied with their political position in Cuban society and disappointed with the general economic situation after 1920.[f] They believed themselves to be an elite, but were aware that their position of political power and prestige was inferior to that of the landholding and industrial upper class. The only way in which they could maintain their prestige was through university training in the esteemed fields of law, medicine, and teaching. However, the undiversified nature of the Cuban economy during the first 50 years after independence tended to produce an overabundance of all professionals, especially lawyers, doctors, and teachers. Such individuals became underemployed and many were forced to seek jobs outside their professions in order to provide the income they believed was consistent with their social status.

Summary

Professionals appear to have formed a generally unwanted element in Cuban society. Because they continually advocated change they

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[e] The three most eloquent spokesmen for Cuban independence were Father Felix Varela y Morales (1787–1833), José de la Luz y Caballero (1800–1862), and José Antonio Saco y López (1797–1879). They have been called the "forefathers of Cuban national consciousness" by Cuban historians.[46]

[f] Jorge Mañach was a middle-class intellectual of the twenties and thirties. He received a science degree from Havana University and founded a small literary magazine. He joined the successful revolutionary movement of the early thirties and thereafter advanced socially as a senator, cabinet minister, and editor of a national newspaper. Raúl Roa, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Castro, was one of the many underemployed lawyers of more recent times who were politically frustrated and who set about to change their society during the 1950's.[47]

were politically unreliable and formed a very unstable sector of their society. Because the Cuban economy could not absorb their numbers they became economic misfits. Partly in an endeavor to better their economic position, and partly in protest to their marginal position in the existing political order, many young intellectuals became leaders of revolutionary movements.

POLITICAL WEAKNESSES

Inefficiency of Governmental Machinery

Neglect or Failure to Change Old Institutions to Meet New Needs

For more than 50 years after the Republic was established in 1902, the Cuban Government was noted for two failures: the failure to enact and enforce major policies to meet the nation's changing needs, and the failure to close the wide gap that existed between the letter of constitutional theory and governmental practice.

Many individuals who manned the governmental posts at all levels and in all branches were responsible for these failures. To them the government was a prize awarded the victor of a political struggle. Political office was a means of achieving wealth and social status. "At most times . . . the government . . . was used in many ways by many persons to buy support, to placate opposition, to threaten, and to ensure the support of powerful interest groups."[48] Thus, these same individuals tended to preserve the malpractices and the legal loopholes which protected their profiteering. Reformers who opposed them ended up by redistributing the "spoils of office" instead of reforming the system.[49]

The result of all this was the failure on the part of the successive governments "to enact or implement laws ensuring such essentials of democratic governments as an independent judiciary, a nonpolitical civil service and a legislature able to check abuse of executive power."[50] Moreover, the governments also failed to take "effective action" in the way of curing the basic social and economic ills of the island. Constitutions were filled with idealistic goals, but their provisions were rarely enforced. The governments, especially after the economic disaster of the late twenties and the revolution of 1933, attempted and partially succeeded in assuming greater social and economic responsibility. However, many of their policies intended to broaden public welfare merely appeased special interest groups and further extended government control over social and economic life.

Failure to develop stable political system under the 1901 Constitution. During the first 30 years of independence from Spain, Cuba failed to develop a stable political system under the 1901 Constitution. The

period was marked with elections, revolts, and U.S. intervention. Two major political groups dominated the political arena and competed for office: the Conservative Party, which received the support of business interests and the rural population; and the Liberal Party, which drew the urban and Negro vote. "Each used all the techniques available in Cuban life to attain power: the outright buying of votes; the sweeping use of amnesties and pardons; the careful distribution of patronage; cultivation of the army; control of the national lottery; and appeals to the United States Government."[51] Political loyalties were based on the extent of control and influence of a party rather than on differences of policies and programs. Out of six national elections held between 1908 and 1933, each party won three.

Election time in Cuba was generally a period of unrest during which disaffected elements threatened to revolt or actually resorted to force of arms in attempts to settle political disputes. Three times—in 1906, 1912, and again in 1917—revolts flared in various parts of the island when the "out" group charged the "in" group with having manipulated the elections. Each time, the United States intervened to restore order and revise the Cuban electoral code. A new code which was formulated in 1919 failed to solve the problem, however, and the opposition party again charged the party in power with irregularities and threatened to revolt during the elections of November 1920. The United States intervened and sent General Enoch Crowder to investigate the alleged irregularities. After his findings indicated that there had been no irregularities, he remained in Cuba and became very influential in the island's internal politics, serving first as financial advisor to the Cuban Government and later as U.S. Ambassador to Cuba.

Political developments from 1925 to 1933 resulted in dictatorship and revolution. Gerardo Machado, who was elected President in 1924, pledged honest government and promised to serve only one term of office. Early in his first term, however, he began to lay the foundations for an extension of his career: the Machado-dominated Congress extended presidential and congressional tenure and abolished the Vice Presidency. Reports of corruption and despotism became widespread, opposition groups formed, terrorism and counterterrorism increased. In 1933, when Machado was forced to surrender the Presidency, the entire island was near civil war. New political aspirants emerged to engage in violent conflict with the remnants of the Machado regime and with each other. Chaos prevailed until the army took control in March 1935 and restored some semblance of order.

Political developments under the 1940 Constitution. Many Cubans expressed the need for a new constitution during the late thirties. The 1901 Constitution was restored shortly before national elections were

held in 1936, but it was felt inadequate to curb government violations of constitutional provisions and to meet new national needs. It had provided political equality and individual liberties, but failed to outline the responsibility of the government in providing individual social and economic rights as well. The new Constitution, established in 1940, adopted most of the social and labor legislation that had been enacted from 1933 to 1940. Provisions dealing with other social and economic matters, however, "were statements of purpose requiring additional legislation."[52]

As became evident in the years that followed, the central government failed to make the new Constitution "fully operative" and was criticized by Cubans for not establishing institutions called for by its provisions. Moreover, political patronage, which had always been a source of graft in the Cuban political system, was not eliminated by the new Constitution. Teachers, policemen, and civil servants at all levels could not be appointed without some political influence.[53] The government became Cuba's second largest employer—next to the sugar industry.

Batista was the first President to be elected under the provisions of the 1940 Constitution. He resigned his post as chief of the Armed Forces and ran as a candidate in July 1940 on a coalition ticket of the Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the Communist Party (legally recognized for the first time in 1938). Batista defeated Ramón Grau San Martín, one of the leaders of the 1933 revolution, who was supported by a coalition of revolutionary parties. However, wartime emergencies compelled Batista to shelve constitutional guarantees and exercise complete and arbitrary control over politics and the economy.

The next two administrations, led by Presidents Ramón Grau San Martín (1944–48) and Carlos Prío Socarrás (1948–52), both of the *Auténtico* Party, "formed a critical period of expectation and disillusionment in the development of Cuban political attitudes."[54] Batista had promised and given the Cubans stability, a constitution, free elections, and a better government than any Cuban had ever known. Grau and Prío, putting the "outs" into government, promised economic progress and social reform. Grau failed to persuade Congress to adopt his reforms and also failed to control the graft, so that corruption increased and a steady deterioration pervaded all levels. He was also accused of misappropriating funds. Prío was more successful in establishing institutions that were called for by the 1940 Constitution: they were used to create new wealth and to increase employment. "They were also used, however, for political patronage and were the means by which favored individuals grew wealthy by taking enormous profits for industries operating largely on government-supplied capital."[55] Toward the end of

Prío's term of office, there was an increase in gangsterism and public disorder which threatened business and frightened foreign investors.

The Batista coup d'etat of March 1952 shocked the Cuban public, and almost immediately there began a campaign of bitter opposition to unseat him. This opposition was led by university students and by followers of ousted President Prío. Many industrialists and merchants were pleased by the Batista coup, however, because they felt that he would control labor. Batista did preserve labor peace and he also sponsored much needed public works programs that had been promised earlier by numerous political leaders. He suspended the Constitution and the Congress for over 2 years, however, and during most of the period up to 1959 he ruled through emergency and extralegal powers.

Inadequacy of Government's Initial Reaction to the 1953–1959 Revolutionary Movement

Origins of the revolutionary movement immediately after the 1952 coup d'etat. The initial reaction to the coup among interest groups and the Cuban masses in general was varied. For the most part there was no effective opposition. Big business, strongly conservative and primarily interested in maintaining economic stability and public order, welcomed Batista with relief. There had always been a close relationship between the business community and government; business received favorable tax concessions and contract awards in return for political contributions. Specific groups, such as the sugar industry, did not deal directly with government; they supported semiautonomous government agencies, such as the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute, composed of representatives from sugar associations which acted as lobbies and usually dealt with matters directly affecting their individual industries. The Association of Cane Planters, represented in the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute, "was the first organization to announce its support of Batista after the 1952 *coup d'etat*. It was followed by similar statements from the banks and from the labor confederations."[56]

Labor made peace with Batista very shortly after the coup. Eusebio Mujal, head of the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC),[g] called a strike in protest against Batista's illegal seizure of power, but it failed. Batista banned strikes and arrested Mujal. Mujal was soon released,

[g] Labor unions joined together in federations and the majority of union federations, such as the National Federation of Sugar Workers, the National Federation of Workers in the Construction Industry, the National Federation of Commercial Workers, and the National Federation of Transport Workers, were members of the CTC. The exact number of workers in the CTC in 1952 is not known, but it could be presumed to have been close to one million.

however, and was allowed to resume leadership of the CTC with the agreement that CTC would remain politically neutral.

The army, from whose ranks Batista rose to political power, had been used traditionally by governments to put down internal disorders rather than to fight major wars outside the island.

> Batista's reliance upon the army made it a power which no one might seriously threaten. Presidents Grau San Martín and Prío Socarrás each altered the personnel of the high command to promote men more sympathetic to themselves, but no serious effort was made to reduce the size of the establishment or the funds, usually 20 percent of the budget, absorbed by the military.[57]

The army aided Batista in his 1952 coup and was well-rewarded with pay increases and various other benefits. The high command was replaced with men loyal to Batista.

In contrast to the general acceptance of Batista's coup by other groups, university students appear to have raised the greatest protest. The students had always been politically conscious and took sides on political issues, often violently divisive among themselves. A traditional understanding between Havana University and the government allowed the university complete freedom from government interference in its activities—a form of extraterritorial right guarded by both faculty and students. But whenever this right was threatened by the government, students and faculty banded together and the university became the seedbed of revolutionary activity. President Machado, for example, violated the autonomy of the university when students criticized his regime in 1933; the students rose against him and joined the successful revolutionary effort that overthrew him. In 1952 university students attempted to organize a general strike protesting Batista's illegal seizure of power, but it was nipped in the bud by the army and police forces. The university was closed and the students again took arms in a continued struggle against the government.

Fidel Castro led a small force of approximately 165 men on July 26, 1953, to the Moncada barracks, the principal fortress of Oriente Province in Santiago de Cuba. Earlier, as a politician, Castro had presented himself as a congressional candidate for the *Ortodoxo* Party, an outgrowth of the *Auténtico* Party, in elections that were interrupted by Batista's coup. He filed a brief with an urgency court (antigovernment activities generally were referred to an urgency court), protesting Batista's seizure of power and declaring it unconstitutional, but the courts refused to act.[58] It was then that Castro organized his group, later to be

known as the 26th of July Movement, to plot the nighttime attack. The attack, which consisted of plans to take over the fortress, seize arms, announce the victory to the people, and establish a revolutionary government in Santiago, failed.[59] The element of surprise so important to the success of the attack was removed when an alarm bell was sounded and awakened the sleeping soldiers. Many of the attackers were killed, and others, Castro among them, eventually surrendered, were tried, and sent to prison.[60]

Government's political efforts to counter opposition. Until November 1954, when national elections were held, Batista ruled Cuba with an iron hand. One of his first official acts was to suspend the 1940 Constitution. Shortly thereafter, he decreed a new provisional Constitution which modified the older document for the purpose of consolidating his rule and at least temporarily eliminating legal opposition. Congress was indefinitely dissolved and replaced by a Consultative Council whose members were appointed by Batista. The press was restricted, and critics either went into exile or were imprisoned.

According to Batista, the restrictions he imposed on the Cuban people were merely temporary and were to be lifted as soon as new elections were held. Elections were postponed until November 1954. At that time Batista was elected President for a 4-year term. The 1940 Constitution was reinstated and Congress reconvened.

Elections did not quiet dangerous opposition and consequently Batista felt compelled to make further concessions to forestall criticism of his regime. In early 1955 he established a Civic Dialogue, a group composed of representatives of all political and other organizations, whose primary function was to seek a "peaceful political solution." The group charged Batista with election fraud and concluded that "nothing could be settled without new and genuinely free, honest elections."[61] A new election was not acceptable to Batista. Because of domestic and international pressure, however, he did approve a general amnesty in May 1955 which freed hundreds of political prisoners including the group that had taken part in the Moncada attack in 1953.

Political groups and civic institutions after 1956 insisted that the only way to eliminate tension and the threat of civil war in Cuba was to have Batista step down in favor of a new and popularly elected government. Batista eventually acceded to these demands, promised "free" and "honest" elections, but refused to step down until his term of office ended in February 1959. After several postponements, elections were held in November 1958 which resulted in the election by 25 percent of the electorate[62] of Batista's candidate, Dr. Andres Rivero Aguero. Batista was charged with engineering the elections and attempting to perpetuate his rule through a puppet president.

Summary

The Cuban Government, rarely free from graft from 1902 to 1959, was a means by which politicians could achieve economic wealth and social status. Its major function as a reward of political struggle made those who manned governmental posts reluctant to reform the system which had tended to perpetuate dishonesty over the years. Consequently, basic social and economic problems were seldom dealt with effectively and constitutional provisions were usually disregarded.

Although most of the major interest groups soon adjusted to Batista's illegal seizure of power in 1952, a small minority initially resisted violently. To counter this reaction Batista resorted to a combination of military and political measures: he employed force to snuff out conspiracies and open revolts, and extended his presidential powers to meet political opposition.

Political Fragmentation of Ruling Elites and Opposition Groups

Distrust Between Ruling Groups: Politics and Personalismo

Cuban governments, whether they achieved power through peaceful and constitutionally outlined procedures or through violence, have never gained the lasting confidence of competing political groups and seldom have been free from violent opposition. There are two reasons for this: the political groups not in power lacked faith in the government's intention to hold honest elections; and politics was usually based on the rivalry between personalities who struggled with each other to gain personal control of the government.

Cuban constitutions specifically spelled out the manner in which the exchange of power between political groups should take place. Moreover, these constitutional procedures were supplemented and revised at various times in order to develop a successful electoral system free from corruption.

> But to a great extent the electoral system, like other procedures established by law to limit arbitrary exercise of power, was in practice regarded as something to be manipulated. Opposition parties often assumed that the ruling group would use the machinery of the state to control elections and to perpetuate its power. They would then withdraw from the campaign in protest rather than participate in what they considered the government's plan to legitimize itself by fraud. Such a step was intended to draw domestic and international

> criticism upon the government—particularly from the United States—and at times it was a prelude to violence.[63]

The number of instances when such techniques were applied during national elections were more frequent prior to the 1933 uprising, but there are several incidents which occurred in the 1950's that should be mentioned. During the 1952 presidential campaigns, for example, Batista claims to have discovered a plot whereby President Prío Socarrás planned to extend his tenure by carrying out a coup with the aid of several military leaders.[64] This discovery, according to Batista, prompted him to execute his own coup. A less serious incident occurred during the 1954 presidential campaign when Grau San Martín, Batista's only opponent, charged that the elections were rigged in favor of Batista and withdrew his candidacy in order to discredit the elections. A similar incident occurred in 1958 when most of Batista's political opponents and at least 75 percent of the Cuban electorate did not take part in the elections.[h,65]

Violent opposition in political activity was intensified by the personal rivalries and ambitions of the national leaders. A leader's role in the political system became so important that the movement which his party represented carried his name. This situation is called *personalismo;* political parties were viewed as the personal creation of their leaders, rather than being built around a solid core of political philosophy. "Thus, such designations in Cuba as Zayistas, Machadistas, Batistianos, and Fidelistas have often been more accurately descriptive of a political following than have the names of the political parties led by these men."[67] The leader's political influence, contacts, and acquaintances, and the distribution of patronage frequently determined the size of his following. "Political loyalties were also based on real differences with regard to politics and programs, but these differences were often obscured in the struggle to gain control of government."[68]

National Parties, Coalitions, and Splinter Groups Prior to 1952

Although a number of political parties emerged and disappeared rapidly after 1933, there were several national parties whose existence could be traced throughout the period until 1952. The struggle for power in that period centered around four major groupings: the non-Communist left-of-center, the conservative wing, opportunistic coalitions, and the Communist left-of-center. It was common practice for various parties to combine in coalitions in order to achieve common

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[h] A no-election law decreed from the Sierra Maestra, Castro's mountain refuge during the 1950's, made it a criminal offense to participate in the "electoral farce."[66]

short-run objectives. Party splintering was not infrequent as dissident leaders broke away to form rival parties.

Non-Communist left. The Cuban Revolutionary Party (Auténtico), the parent party of the democratic left, was organized by Grau San Martín in 1934 from members of his administration of 1933. It was known as the *Auténtico* because followers of Grau in 1933 called themselves the "authentic" revolutionaries to be distinguished from other groups that participated in the struggle against the Machado government.

In its formative years the party remained outside legal political activity and did not take part in electoral politics until 1939. The party was left-of-center and strongly nationalistic. It drew much of its support from the lower class. Many of its social and economic programs which stressed social and labor reforms, government regulation of the economy, agrarian reform, and an equitable distribution of wealth were included in the 1940 Constitution. Grau San Martín brought his *Auténticos* to power in the relatively free elections of 1944 with this program, and he was succeeded by his chosen candidate, Prío Socarrás, in 1948. *Auténtico* Party members divided their loyalty between the two leaders and greatly weakened party solidarity. Despite their promises of political reform, the *Auténticos* continued the unethical practices of former governments.

In protest, Eddy Chibas, a follower of the *Auténtico* Party since its beginning, founded a splinter reform party in 1946. The *Ortodoxo* Party, as it was called, adopted a platform essentially identical to that of its parent organization, but strongly stressed honesty and the elimination of dishonesty in the government. By 1948 Chibas had won wide support among the younger generation and attracted a large number of competent political leaders. Despite his suicide in 1951, his party's popularity continued to increase to the point that the *Ortodoxo* candidate, Roberto Agramonte, was leading the field in a preelection poll during the presidential campaign of 1952. Fidel Castro, then a young practicing lawyer, was an *Ortodoxo* candidate running for Congress.

The conservative wing. The Conservative wing was divided between the Democratic Party (formerly the Conservative Party in the pre-1933 era) and the Liberal Party during most of the period between 1933 and 1952; a third party, the Republican Party, appeared in 1944 but by 1950 had been dissolved. Their programs and platforms were similar: they supported private enterprise with some governmental regulation "for the purposes of economic development and public welfare,"[69] and strongly opposed radicalism espoused by the Communists. The conservative following was made up chiefly of the wealthy upper class.

The conservative wing was united in its support of Batista's candidate in the 1948 election. Following the election, intraconservative

rivalry led Batista to form his own party, the Party of Unitary Action, the only major conservative party to support his candidacy in the 1952 campaign. Following the coup in 1952 the Party of Unitary Action was dissolved only to be revised later under the name of the Progressive Action Party with Batista as its candidate for the 1954 election. Although split into factions, the Democratic and Liberal Parties joined the Progressive Action Party in support of Batista in the campaign of 1954.

Opportunistic coalitions. Although the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party were ideologically opposed to the *Auténticos,* for tactical reasons they supported the *Auténtico* candidate in the 1952 campaign. They had formed part of the Batista coalition in 1940 and supported the Batista candidates in 1944 and 1948, but after being out of office for two terms, the party leaders decided to throw in their lot with a more popular candidate.

The Democratic Party split in 1944 when several members charged Batista with attempting to perpetuate his rule by pushing the candidacy of his chosen successor, Carlos Saladrigas. The leader of the faction, Guillermo Alonso Pujol, established the Republican Party. Although it was reportedly the most conservative party in Cuba,[70] it allied itself with the left-of-center *Auténticos* in the 1948 election.

The Communist left. The existence of the Communist Party, known as the Popular Socialist Party (PSP) after 1944, can be traced to the year 1925 when it was founded. The party remained illegal until 1938 when it came to terms with Batista. From then until 1952, the PSP regularly sent elected representatives to Congress. "During its period of legality, the Party's main antagonist was the Auténtico Party which supported much the same program, and except for short periods, rejected collaboration with the Communists."[71] The party's strength was greatly weakened after 1947 when it adopted the Cominform "hard" line, or the "left" strategy,[i] and came under strong government attack.

Summary

Although specific procedures were laid down for the peaceful transfer of power in Cuba, politics was seldom free of violence. Political groups not in power suspected the incumbent government's promises to hold honest elections. Furthermore, politics was largely characterized by *personalismo* and jealous rivalry among politicians constantly engaged in a struggle to gain personal control of the government.

[i] The "right" strategy, or the strategy of united front cooperation between Communist an non-Communist parties or groups against fascism, prior to and during World War II, was abandoned at the onset of the cold war in 1947. From then on, "foreign imperialism," a term synonymous with the United States, became the target for Communist attacks.[72]

Thus the ruling and opposition parties, loyal to leaders rather than ideals, often splintered and entered into temporary alliances with other groups for pragmatic considerations, none of which were enduring.

Political Imbalance: Representation, Participation, and Discrimination

Only a small group of professional politicians who had gained prominence in the war against Spain were active in government and politics in the years before Machado was overthrown in 1933. The 1901 Constitution extended voting rights and proportional representation to all male adults. However, the interests of several population groups were omitted from major consideration in the formulation of government policy. Some conservative elements remained aloof from politics; others were barred from political representation because they had not favored complete independence from Spain. The peasants, because they were scattered and unorganized, either had no wish to participate in politics and thus did not vote, or if they did vote, their interests did not influence the making of national policies. Machado strengthened the position of the political elites by silencing political opposition, and persecuting the leadership of the emerging labor movement and of critical university students.

The 1940 Constitution reaffirmed the role of the popular masses in policymaking. Relatively honest elections were held in 1940, 1944, and 1948. They were not free from vote-buying and political bargaining, but as a whole the politically influential power groups represented the interests of a larger share of the population. The new Constitution made it obligatory for all citizens over 20 years of age to register and vote. From 70 to 80 percent of the eligible voters cast their votes in the three elections mentioned above.[73] After the Batista coup of 1952, however, Cuba was governed for 2½ years under a fundamental law which excluded representative government; the functions of Congress were assumed by an 80-member Consultative Council appointed by Batista. Critics of the regime were suppressed. The Constitution and the Congress were reinstituted in 1955, but under Batista political representation had little meaning; the 1954 and 1958 elections were considered rigged and aroused little popular interest. The major interest groups, such as labor, business, and the army, either dealt personally with Batista or through special lobby organizations.

Summary

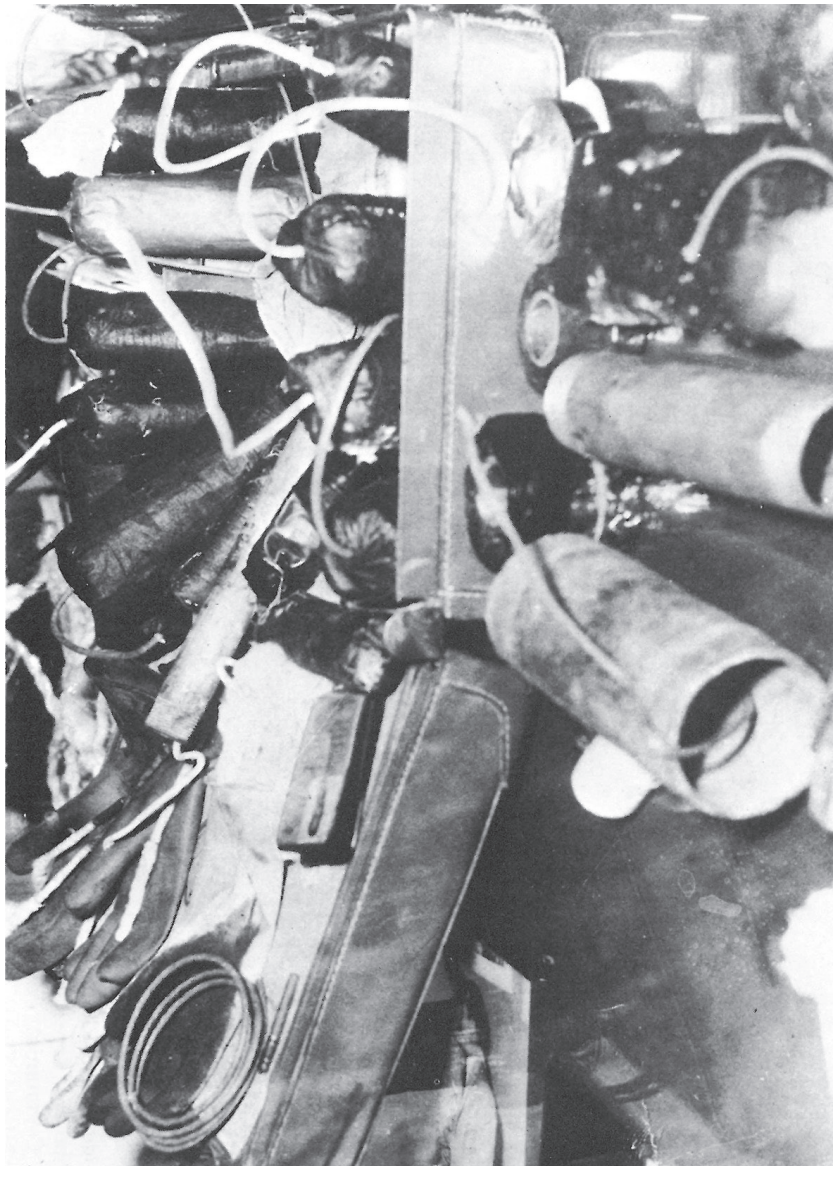
The Cuban Constitutions of 1901 and 1940, and subsequent revisions of the electoral codes, were written so as to permit wide popular

participation in the electoral process and the formulation of national policies. Political realities such as *personalismo,* extralegal political pressure, and the occasional use of force, however, counterbalanced the outlined democratic procedures and frequently denied certain population groups participation in the political process.

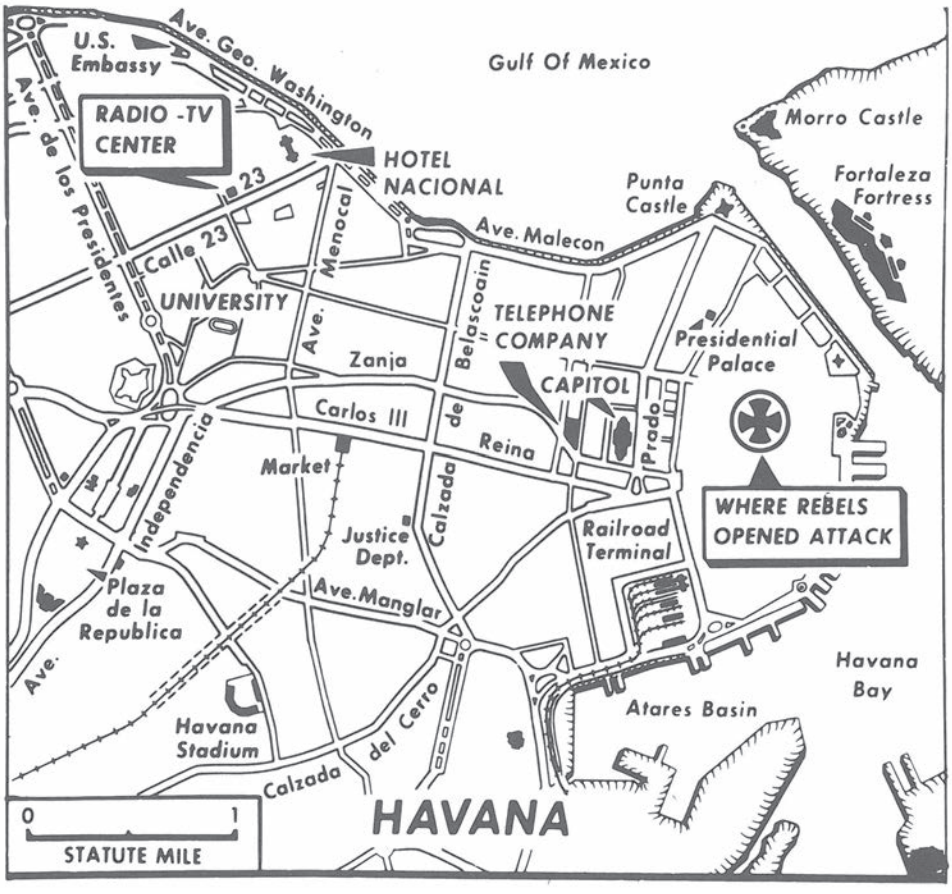
(United Press International Photo)
President Fulgencio Batista during an exclusive United Press interview at the Presidential Palace, April 1958, at which time he predicted that the rebels and their pro-Communist activities would be put down before the November national elections.

(United Press International Photo)
Cuban rebel leader Fidel Castro (center) and his younger brother Raúl (left), with some of the other rebel chiefs at their stronghold in the Sierra Maestra Mountains in April 1958.

(Wide World Photos)
Teenagers, arrested by Cuban police, accused of being terrorists of the 26th of July Movement and the Communist Party, August 17, 1957, following the discovery and seizure of a factory of bombs on Galiano Street in Havana's shopping district.



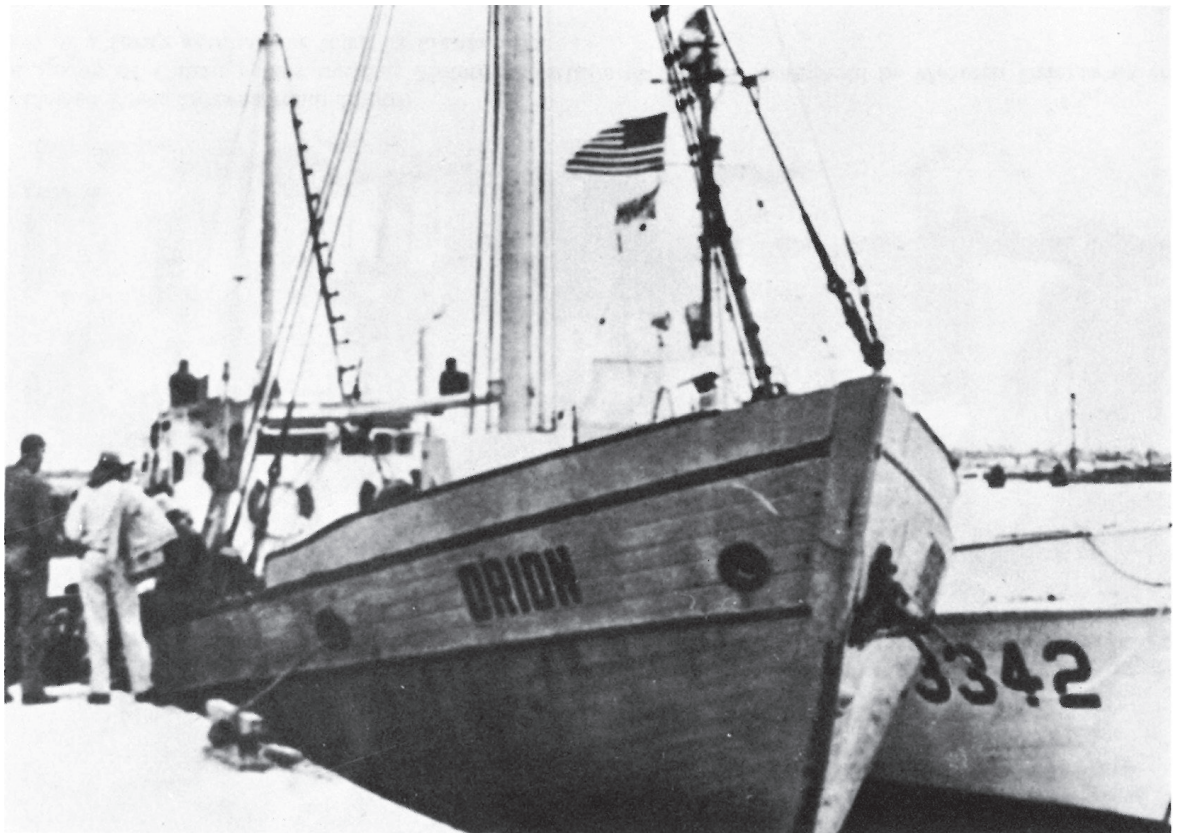
(Wide World Photos)
Suitcase full of bombs seized by Cuban police in August 1957 when they discovered a bomb factory in Havana's shopping district. Police arrested a group of teenagers and accused them of attempting to overthrow the Batista government.



(Wide World Photos)
Map of Havana locates principal points involved in the abortive strike of April 9, 1958. Some rebels opened their forays in the Old Waterfront Section, while others seized the radio and television center.

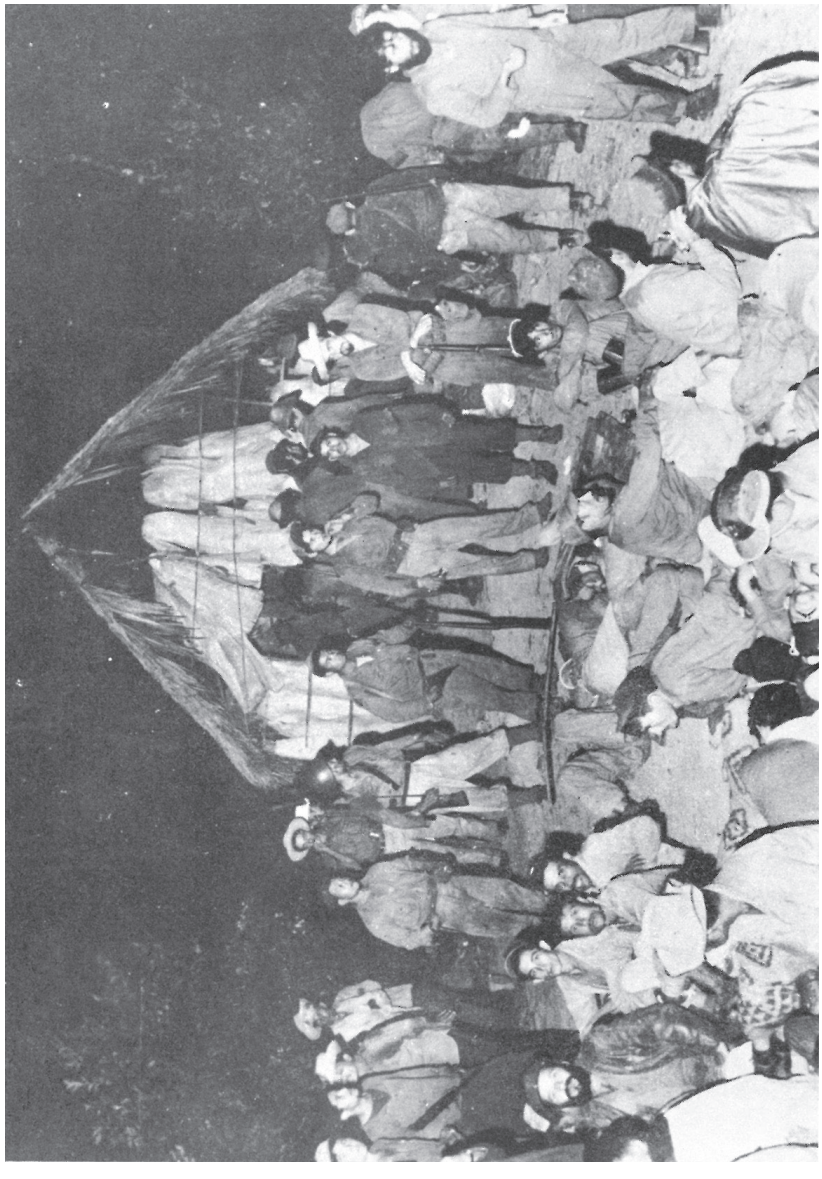
(Wide World Photos)
Rebels operating in mountains near the southern coast of Las Villas Province used horses and mules for transporting supplies and for riding to attack government posts late in 1958.

(United Press International Photo)
A group of Cuban rebels making Molotov cocktails at a rebel stronghold in Western Oriente on the eve of a foray against the town of Manzanillo.

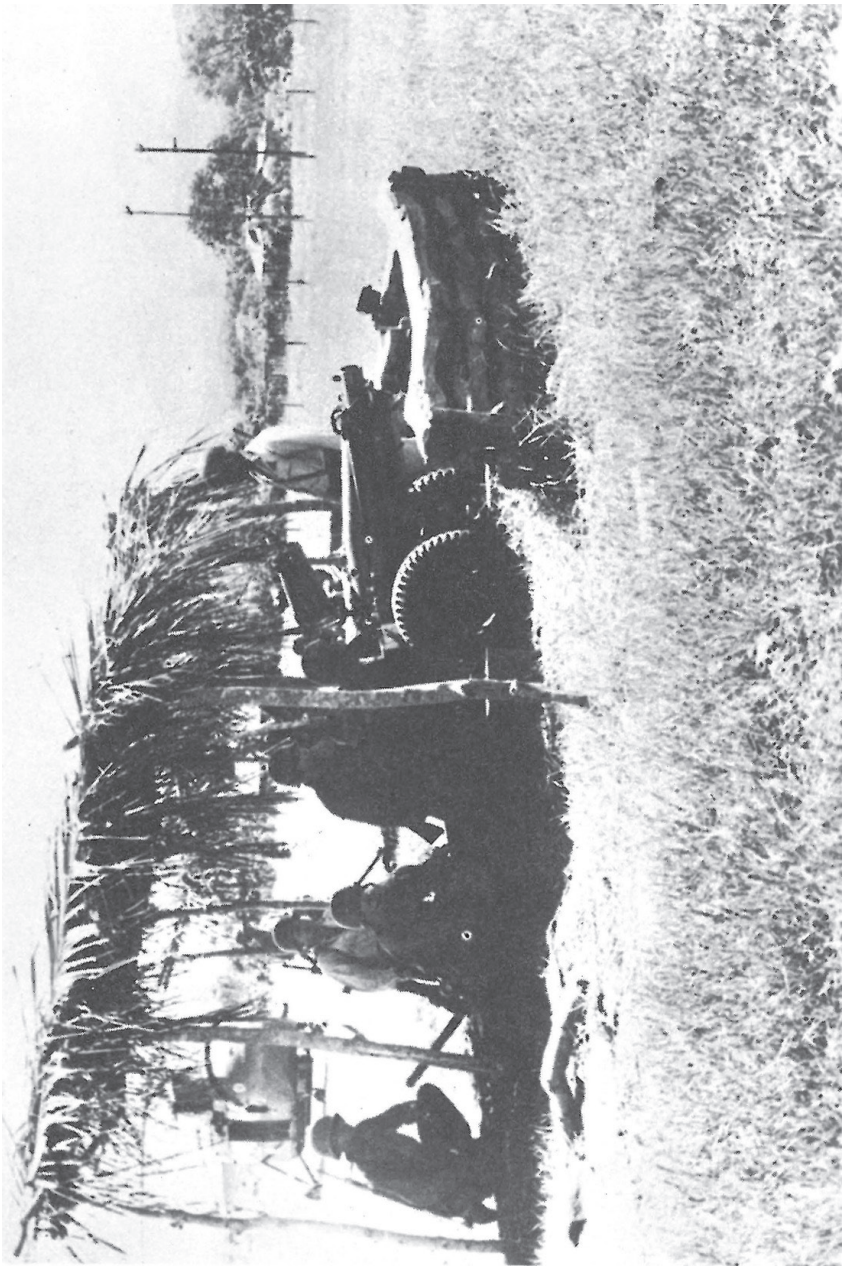


(Wide World Photos)
U.S. officials stand around the boat, "Orion," captured early in 1958 by U.S. Coast Guard Agents. Arms and ammunition were seized and 36 rebels were arrested. In the background is one of the two Coast Guard boats used in the chase.

(United Press International Photo)
Cuban rebel commanders Capt. Victor Bordon (second from left, in campaign hat) and Che Guevara (second from right, in beret) are shown outside seized army headquarters in Fomento, December 1958, as their troops occupy the town.



(Wide World Photos)
Fidel Castro rebels form a ring around natives suspected of being government followers in the mountain jungles of the Sierra del Cristal, April 1958. The suspects were seized by rebel forces led by Raúl Castro.

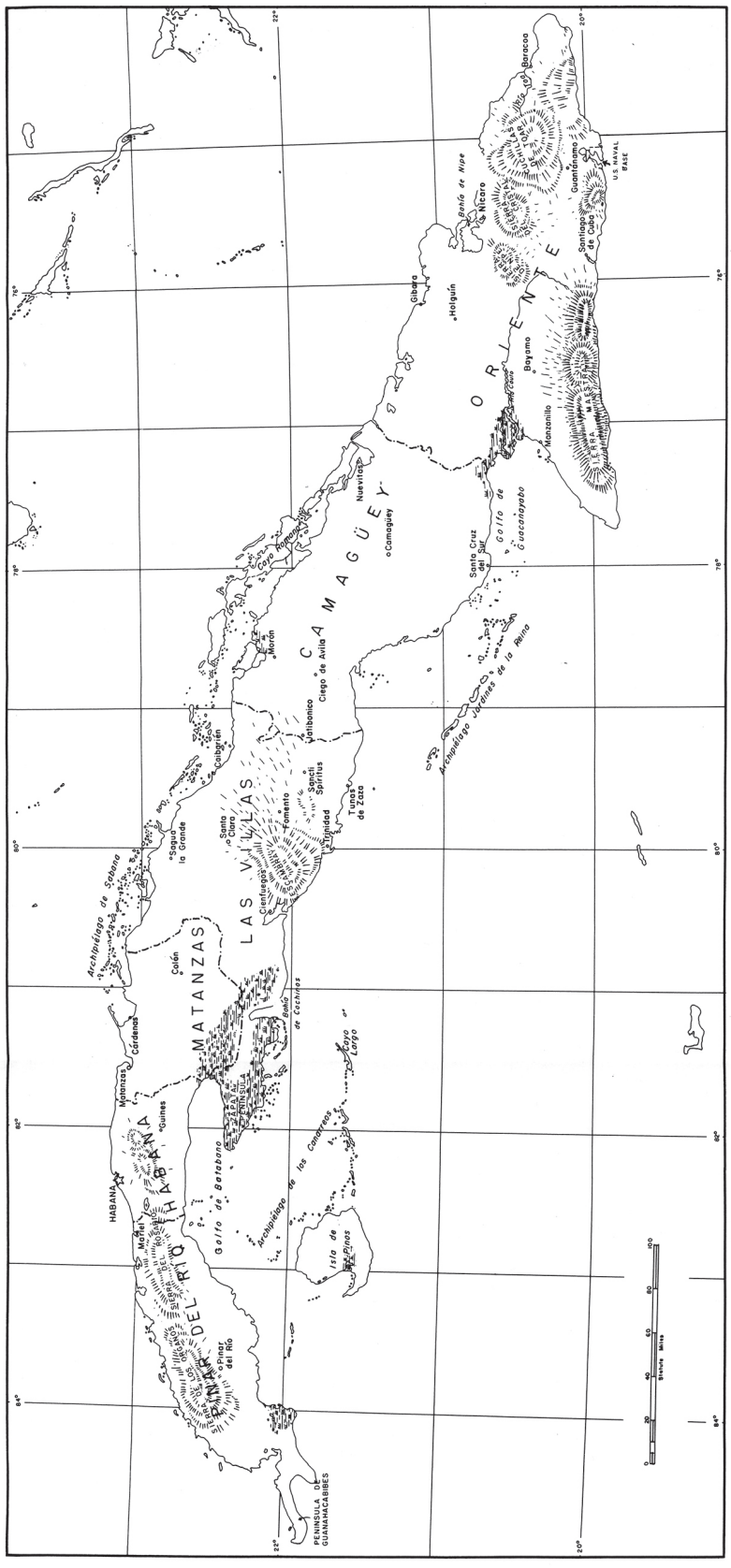


(World Wide Photos)
The Cuban Army frequently used artillery in attacking or repelling rebels in eastern Oriente Province. Troops are receiving instruction on operating a field piece in 1958.

(World Wide Photos)
The son of Fidel Castro rides atop a tank during a parade honoring his father as the leader of the forces that overthrew Batista. The son, also named Fidel, flew to Havana from New York in January 1959 to meet with his father.

(World Wide Photos)
Mass meeting of the Cuban teachers' union, April 1962. Members agreed to "donate" 4 percent of their salary to a Cuban industrialization program. From left to right, Dr. Francisco Jimenez, Deacon of Havana College of Teachers; Armando Hart, Minister of Education; President Osvaldo Dorticós; Lester Rodríguez, Dean of the National College of Teachers; Dr. Felix Adams, President of the Venezuelan College of Teachers; and Capt. José Nibaldo Cauca, Sub-Secretary of Labor.

(United Press International Photo)
Photo purportedly shows leaders of anti-Castro guerrillas meeting somewhere in the Escambray Mountains to coordinate their respective military zones. Man at front right center is identified as Capt. Everardo Sales, leader of the Second National Front of Escambray.


ORIENTE
CAMAGÜEY
LAS VILLAS
MATANZAS
LA HABANA
PINAR DEL RIO
Gibara
Holguín
Baracoa
Bahía de Nipe
Nicaro
Santiago de Cuba
Guantánamo
U.S. NAVAL BASE
Bayamo
Manzanillo
Nuevitas
Camagüey
Santa Cruz del Sur
Golfo de Guacanayabo
Caibarién
Morón
Ciego de Avila
Archipiélago Jardines de la Reina
Santa Clara
Sagua la Grande
Cienfuegos
Trinidad
Sancti Spíritus
Tunas de Zaza
Colón
Cárdenas
Matanzas
Güines
Bahía de Cochinos
Archipiélago de los Canarreos
Isla de Pinos
Golfo de Batabanó
Pinar del Río
PENINSULA DE GUANAHACABIBES
HABANA
Marianao
Regla
0 20 40 60 80 100
Statute Miles

Map of Cuba.

PART II—DYNAMICS OF REVOLUTION

COMPOSITION OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTORS[a]

Active opposition to Batista increased steadily from the date of his coup d'etat in 1952.[b] During the period from 1952 to 1956, most of the opposition was divided and passive. The activists were banded into small clandestine organizations whose ranks were limited in number and varied in character. Leaders emerged from such organizations and individually plotted revolution against Batista. Most of these leaders were young middle- and upper-class intellectuals who had recently graduated from a university or at least had received formal university training: they were doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, accountants, and students. A few were army officers and politicians.

The composition of the revolutionary following generally matched the leadership. However, after 1957 the revolution gained the peasantry as another source of manpower. Several organizations established guerrilla units in the rural areas of Cuba in 1956 and 1957 and relied on the local peasants for support. Many peasants were recruited into the guerrilla bands as fighters. By mid-1958 the revolutionary organizations in the mountainous rural areas, composed of middle-class elements and peasants, numbered fewer than one thousand followers.[c, 74] Most of the activists in the underground organizations of the urban centers, composed of middle-class intellectuals and professionals, brought thousands (exact number unknown) into active participation against Batista by 1959. The masses did not rise spontaneously to overthrow the government as some of the leaders in the early stages of the revolution had envisioned; but as the revolution gained momentum and Batista's rule became more suppressive, his major supporters defected so that he was left with no other choice but to abdicate.[76]

There was a conflict of policies among the various revolutionary groups—primarily in terms of the difference in the revolutionary techniques the leaders were willing to employ, the confidence they had in an armed struggle against the Batista forces, and the willingness to organize it[77]—which persisted throughout the revolution. This conflict was manifested in the rivalry which existed between the radical leadership in the rural areas and the moderate leadership in the urban

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[a] Unless otherwise specified, the terms "revolutionary leadership" and "revolutionary followers" will be used in a general sense and will refer to all leaders and followers who took part in the revolutionary movement. The "revolutionary movement" refers to all actors and organizations which took part in the anti-Batista revolution of 1953–59.

[b] Batista took over the entire island in little over 1 hour with a junta of 15–20 captains and lieutenants. The military barracks in Havana were seized first and the provincial garrisons were taken by long distance telephone and telegraph messages to insurgent officers.

[c] In December 1958 there were an estimated 7,300 troops in uniform, organized into guerrilla fighting units.[75]

areas.[78] Urban leaders had gained more prestige than the rural leaders up to the spring of 1958. This prestige was based on the urban leaders' roles as professionals within their society prior to the revolution, and their direct contacts with the revolutionary following during the struggle. However, the urban leadership was indecisive and met with several setbacks in the cities. As communications between the rural leadership and the urban following improved, the rural leadership was able to publicize a series of minor military successes against the Batista forces. Thus, the relative importance of the rival groups in the eyes of the people was reversed.[79] In July 1958 most of the urban leaders conceded that the revolution had to be centralized and securely based in the rural areas. The revolution then achieved a relatively centralized leadership. The conflict of policies was not solved but it did not become a crucial issue again until the victory was being consolidated.

Fidel Castro, often referred to by his close associates as "Maximum Leader," rose from relative obscurity to lead the Cuban Revolution from his mountain headquarters in Oriente Province. There is much controversy among various sources concerning Castro's personal qualities as a "truly great" revolutionary leader, and much doubt about his sincerity in instituting political, social, and economic reforms in the interest of the Cuban masses. As a law student at the University of Havana, then as a practicing attorney and later as a revolutionary leader, Castro molded his public image so that Cubans who followed him believed him to have "super-human strength" and "miraculous powers." Members of all classes served him faithfully through many setbacks before the revolution succeeded.

> There is a mystique about his capacity to overcome adversities. His preference for a combat uniform likewise casts him in the role of a self-denying defender of deprived groups . . . He thus lays the claim to the magical qualities of the charismatic leader."[80]

Fidel Castro's oratorical skill alone gained him a significant following. However, no one could mistake him for a "creative political thinker." He depended on the superior intellect of others, especially Ernesto "Che" Guevara and another revolutionary leader, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. He is a popularizer and a demagog, but not an original social revolutionary.[81]

Castro "was a rebel by and in reality long before Batista's second period of power."[82] As president of the Law School student body, he became involved in campus politics, which many times reached violent proportions at the University of Havana. He was also one of the founders of *Unión Insurreccional Revolucionaria* (UIR), a terroristic organization which allegedly dealt in political assassination. Castro was arrested

several times in connection with murder, but was never convicted.[83] In 1947 he took part in an abortive plot to overthrow Rafael Trujillo, then dictator of the Dominican Republic. The *Cayo Confites* expedition, as it is called, was stopped before it got underway. And in April 1948 Castro took part in "one of the most controversial episodes" of his career. He headed a delegation of students that was attending a student congress in Bogotá, Colombia, during the Ninth Conference of the American States. A citywide riot was triggered by the assassination of a Colombia liberal, and Castro has since been accused by some observers of instigating the riot to undermine the conference.[84]

Castro and his small band of revolutionaries in the mountain redoubt of the Sierra Maestra provided the "focus and the symbols" that inspired the revolutionary activity throughout the island. His movement was well publicized by the North American press and was brought to the attention of the world.

> By 1958 he had emerged from his former position as a young hero of a kind familiar in Cuba to assume the symbolic role of national leader, vacant since the death of José Martí. Within the rebel army, power was vested in Castro and the two men he had come to trust most completely, his brother, Raúl, and the Argentine Che Guevara.[85]

OVERALL STRATEGY AND GOALS

The overall strategy of the revolutionary organization that overthrew the Batista government was altered several times between 1953 and 1958. By attacking the Moncada Barracks in 1953 the revolutionary leadership hoped to inspire the people of Oriente Province to rise against the provincial forces, cut off the Province from the rest of the island, and continue the struggle until the central government was overthrown. The same strategy was used in 1956 when a small expedition landed in Cuba from Mexico. In the latter case, however, underground action squads, not used in 1953, were depended upon to scatter government security forces and create confusion in the cities.

A new strategy was employed in early 1957 when the revolutionary organization went into a two-fisted attack against the Batista forces: guerrilla warfare in the rural areas, and underground activities in the urban centers. The guerrilla bands were to preserve their forces until strong enough to attack and destroy the government forces. At the same time the underground units were to hit at the government forces with

terror and sabotage, all the while preparing the masses for a general strike which was to culminate in Batista's defeat.

The strike, to go off in April 1958, was unsuccessful, and the overall strategy was again revised. The new plan called for a general military counteroffensive to a government spring offensive which was to involve all the scattered guerrilla bands in a combined and centralized effort. It included cutting the communication lines in central Cuba to isolate the eastern half of the island, taking over Oriente Province, and marching on to Havana. The counteroffensive got under way in August 1958, and by January 1959 the Batista government had fallen, less from the military success of the counteroffensive than from the government's own social, economic, and political failures.

The goals, or objectives, which were announced by the various leaders varied little throughout most of the revolution. They were generally broad utopian statements of political philosophies which covered all the freedoms and liberties found in democratic documents; they contributed very little in the formulation of a coherent program for postrevolutionary reconstruction. In some respects, the stated goals were identical to those of the original independence movement against Spain and the 1933 uprising against Machado: constitutional government along with some social and economic changes. The statements were designed primarily to attract popular support for the anti-Batista movement and were therefore relatively moderate. Until the Caracas Pact[d] was signed in July 1958, the various revolutionary organizations in Cuba and in exile each issued their own proposed "future" for Cuba. After the pact was signed, future programs were issued from the "central revolutionary headquarters" in the Sierra Maestra, and were endorsed by most of the revolutionary organizations.

None of the revolutionary leaders included in their pronouncements, during 1953–59, a goal of complete government control of the political, social, and economic aspects of Cuban life. In general the leaders stated that they merely wanted a return to constitutionalism—to replace Batista with a democratic government and to restore the 1940 Constitution. Some leaders waged the revolution in the name of "democratic humanism" or "social justice," all-encompassing phrases which were taken to mean that the leaders were seeking full guarantees of human rights, even distribution of the national wealth, and ways to end chronic unemployment. The order to confiscate "all holdings and ill-gotten gains" of all the malfeasants of previous governments, and to nationalize the foreign-owned telephone and telegraph company were

[d] The Caracas Pact was a unity agreement signed by most of the revolutionary organizations whereby the leaders agreed to form a united front organization which would centrally coordinate political and military action against the government.

some of the most extreme measures proposed during the earlier stage of the revolution.[86] A land program advocating limited holdings for agricultural enterprises and a minimum distribution of land to peasant families was also advanced.

Programs were modified during the fighting stage of the revolution in order to reconcile points of disagreement between the diverse organizations. For example, a program for government ownership of public utilities, viewed as a fundamental measure in the early fifties by the 26th of July Movement, was suspended at a later date. Also, statements of the same group indicated that the leadership was not only prepared to respect foreign holdings in Cuba, but would even welcome more extensive foreign investment as a prelude to rapid industrialization. The programs continued to advocate Batista's removal, the restoration of the 1940 Constitution, the popular election of a democratic government in the "shortest possible time," and the distribution of reclaimed barren lands to peasant families with "just" compensation to the former owners. Two "fundamental guiding principles" were added during the late fifties: respect for private property, and the fulfillment of international obligations.[87]

Other and more specific goals were disclosed before 1959: elimination of inefficiency, graft, and corruption in government; requirement of large companies and corporations to pay their "fair" share of taxes; and ridding Cuba of gambling, racketeering, and other vices. With funds saved from operating an efficient and honest administration, the leaders felt that education, medical care, unemployment compensation, and other social programs could be expanded.[88]

IDEOLOGY OR MYTH

National Orientation

The ideas of liberalism and rationalism emanating from France and Great Britain inspired Cuban nationalism in the 18th century. Teachers, essayists, and political activists came to question Spain's authority over Cuba; under the patronage of Cuban landowners they formed societies for the promotion of political and economic liberalism. At that time, Cubans were excluded from political influence; their foreign trade was restricted by Spanish trade policies and they were heavily taxed to support a foreign bureaucracy on their own soil. Nationalism thus grew out of a reaction against the mercantile policies of Spain.

However, there were two factors which hindered Cuban nationalism from ever developing into an integrative force, unifying all Cubans under one national front. First, nationalism espoused an

antiauthoritarian attitude which ran counter to a dominant cultural tradition of Spanish origin. Second, much of the population was composed of recent arrivals who held on to a "strong foreign orientation," and consequently were not receptive to a Cuban "code of values."[89] As the nationalist movement developed in the latter half of the 19th century, the nationalists were divided into two factions: autonomists, who favored Cuban autonomy within the Spanish empire; and separatists, who demanded complete independence from Spain. An annexationist group desired formal annexation to the United States.

Twentieth-century Cuban nationalism developed as a reaction against the influence of U.S. interests in Cuba. The provisions of the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, provided a focus for hostility toward the United States. The nationalists felt that the Amendment impaired Cuban sovereignty and therefore they called for its abrogation.

After the sugar market collapsed in the late twenties, and the Machado government was overthrown in 1933, nationalist agitation increased and themes from the colonial period were revived. A new generation of political leaders and university students, leftwing nationalists whose ideological convictions were suppressed under the Machado regime, emerged with a new force and "engaged in violent conflict with the old order and with one another." Most of them felt that economic problems were responsible for existing "injustices" which led them to make the United States the target of their resentment over conditions in Cuba. Foreign business interests, they felt, were non-Cuban and exploitative and, therefore, threats to Cuban nationalism and progress.[90] The nationalists began to accept the idea that the government should play a greater role in managing Cuba's economic life and regulating foreign business interests. Cuban nationalism was often expressed in the terms *Cubanidad* and *Cuba Libre.* "Part of the ideal of 'Cuba Libre' is the expectation that, when freed of the immoral limitations imposed by foreign domination and domestic corruption, the resurgent souls of Cubans will be expressed in unprecedented cultural vitality."[91]

Nationalism during the fighting stage of the revolution emphasized Cuba's destiny and national potential, and deemphasized U.S. business interests. It served primarily as a device to gain the support and loyalty of special interest groups. Political reform was stressed to attract the support of moderate middle- and upper-class groups, and economic and social reform to draw mass support. "The Castro revolution was described by its adherents as a true social revolution designed to change the structure and the values of Cuban society and to realize the true potential of the Cuban people."[92]

International Orientation

Marxist ideology, as it developed from the discontent of the late twenties and early thirties, became so interwoven with Cuban nationalism that the mixture appeared as one consistent philosophy. Marxists felt that Cuba's political and social problems were determined entirely by economic factors; because U.S. policies influenced Cuba's economy, the Marxists, especially those who were in the Communist movement, lashed out at the United States for the existing economic and social "injustices." This was "a theme presented within Cuba primarily in nationalist terms, but explained more elaborately in Communist theory as the destruction of a capitalist nation by removing its sources of raw materials."[93] The more extreme Marxists went further and called for a classless society by rallying the underprivileged in a great effort to destroy the upper and middle classes. Individuals seeking such extreme solutions to Cuban problems were usually found in the Popular Socialist Party (Communist), or in other groups at least partially sympathetic to the Communist cause.

Although the extreme Marxists justified the use of violence in their own struggle for power, during the fighting stage of the anti-Batista revolution their official line (originating from the Soviet Union in 1953 as a basic policy for semicolonial countries and advanced by the PSP) was that Batista would not fall by force of arms as advocated by Castro, but by mass insurrection of the working class against the regime. In a step toward establishing a Socialist state, "the PSP called for a National Liberation Democratic Government, integrated by the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, founded on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the workers."[94] Domestic changes desired by the PSP were not unlike those advocated by Cuban nationalists. Cubans who followed the PSP line either supported Batista or were passive during the war and contributed little to the revolutionary effort until the last few weeks of the fighting.

Socio-Economic Emphasis

The Cuban Revolution as a "Peasant Revolution"

The Cuban Revolution has been described as, among other things, a peasant revolution. The peasant character of the revolution was stressed by revolutionary propagandists almost from the beginning of the insurrection. Guerrilla units operating in the rural areas depended on the local population for food, supplies, intelligence, and fresh recruits. Practical dealings between the guerrillas and the peasants during the insurrection resulted in an agrarian reform movement in

the Sierra Maestra. And from January 1959 on, Castro repeatedly paid tribute to the role of the peasants in "winning" and "consolidating" the revolution.

The role of the peasants has often been exaggerated, however, and has resulted in a tendency to obscure the true composition and strength of the guerrilla force. To begin with, the nucleus of the guerrilla force was essentially middle class and remained so throughout the insurrection. The handful of young intellectuals who reached the Sierra Maestra dwindled until March 1957 when more middle-class recruits came from the cities to give the fighting force a "second wind." The peasants in the mountains were "utterly alien to most of them."[95]

Relations between the guerrillas and the peasants improved as the months passed. The city-bred guerrillas understood the need to win over the peasants in order to receive food, protection, intelligence, and new recruits. They were also impressed by the poverty, disease, and illiteracy that was prevalent among the rural population. Out of necessity and compassion, the insurgents became determined to raise the low standards of the peasants to a "level of well-being and human dignity."[96]

The peasants did increase the size of the guerrilla force; however, "even the influx of the last four or five months failed to give it anything like a mass character."[97] Castro has revealed that he had only 180 men with him in April 1958.[98] By mid-1958 there were less than one thousand guerrillas in the field. The two columns that were given the single biggest operation in August 1958 amounted to only 220 men. And the total guerrilla force during the entire campaign against Batista was estimated to be between 3,000 and 7,300 men. "Castro's fighting force was until the end so minute that it hardly deserves to be called an army, let alone a 'peasant army'."[99]

Middle-class intellectuals instigated and controlled the revolution before and after the insurrection. They fought Batista "first in the name of the entire people, then of the peasants, and finally of the workers and the peasants."[100] The peasants received benefits as a result of the revolution, but it was not the peasantry that was the driving force behind the revolution.

"Humanism . . . Liberty With Bread Without Terror"

"Democratic humanism," an ideology in which Marxist solutions could be found for Cuban problems, defined the revolutionary program in the few weeks before and after victory. The revolutionaries saw a great gap between the wealthy who sought to "exploit," and the poor who sought "social justice," and they wanted to eliminate that gap to make both groups equal. They also wished to improve the "well-being" and the "happiness" of all Cubans and distribute widely the means of

access to the national wealth in a manner which serves social interests above individual interests.[101] Revolutionary leaders who continued to subscribe to this ideology, after Castro felt that it was outdated, were soon purged, however, and the ideology was replaced with one that was more radical.

Mystique of Revolution

One of the vital elements contributing to the success of the revolutionary movement of the 1950's was the mystique, a spiritual dynamism emanating from Cuba's history of radicalism, the charismatic qualities of Fidel Castro, and the crusading drive shared by the revolutionary groups. From the beginning of their education, Cuban youths were inculcated with a respect for and a desire to emulate the radical revolutionary leaders of the past.

Fidel Castro is not only a product of this national attitude, but is in himself an embodiment of the spirit of the past. Youthful, idealistic, and audacious, he captured the imagination of his followers as they carried on the struggle against Batista in the tradition of their revolutionary forebears.

ORGANIZATION: FUNCTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL TYPES

The greater part of the revolutionary effort in Cuba during the late 1950's was organized into the Civilian Revolutionary Front. The unity pact which formed the Front, as originally advocated by Fidel Castro, was signed by the political and rebel leaders in Caracas in July 1958. The terms of the pact were laid down by Castro and called for the "popular mobilization of all labor, civic, professional and economic forces, culminating in a great general strike on the civilian front; while on the military front, action will be coordinated throughout the country."[102] From that time on, the mountain ranges of the Sierra Maestra became the headquarters for (with Fidel Castro as the leader of) the entire Cuban revolutionary effort.

Fidel Castro indicated early that he favored a revolutionary front which would unite all the resistance groups under one organization. In 1957 he rejected continued efforts of civic institutions urging a truce between the dictatorship and the revolutionary groups; he proposed instead that the struggle continue under the Civilian Revolutionary Front, a formal alliance composed of all groups opposing Batista. He drafted a manifesto in the summer of 1957 along these lines, but the

opposing groups were so filled with mutual suspicions and mistrust that the agreement was not reached until July 1958.[103]

Representatives of opposition groups, including the 26th of July Movement, met in Miami in November 1957 and agreed on the formation of a "Council of Liberation" which brought together most of the anti-Batista political elements. The Council named a provisional president who was to head a coalition government that was to assume power after Batista's downfall. But the provisions of the pact failed to meet with Castro's personal approval and he rejected the terms in a bitter letter that was sent to the signatories in December of the same year. The Council was willing to cede to Castro's demands, but his rejection nevertheless became a setback in the unified campaign against the government. "Batista was so elated over the news of the rejection that for the first time in months the name of Castro was permitted over the radio as excerpts of the letter were reported."[104]

Most of the independent guerrilla and underground units scattered throughout Cuba ostensibly became unified under one command by virtue of the July 1958 agreement. However, although the leaders had reached an agreement on a common strategy, the units continued to operate more or less independently as they had done previously. Only in several instances were operations, plans, administrative dispositions, and military organizations coordinated between the 26th of July Movement high command and other revolutionary forces. When a guerrilla column led by Che Guevara reached Las Villas Province in the fall of 1958, for instance, the various groups operating there at the time integrated into one army corps. Complete integration of the guerrilla and underground units did not actually take place until after the fighting. Although unity was superficial and the groups that formed the Front continued to mistrust each other, the announcement that the pact had been signed was a great psychological blow to the government forces.[e]

It must be kept in mind throughout this treatment of the paramilitary organization that although it appears to be extensive and well organized, the total number of participants had not exceeded one thousand by the summer of 1958. Guerrilla ranks did not swell appreciably until December of that year.

[e] The Front could be described as a "federalistic" type of organization whereby the independent and autonomous groups were loosely interconnected by a centralized leadership and multifunctional purpose.

Paramilitary Organization

Several guerrilla organizations working independently of each other and totaling less than one thousand troops by mid-1958 were established in different areas of Cuba. During the greater part of the revolution these diverse organizations were not responsible to a supreme commander; they were military arms of political and underground organizations operating in the urban centers, and acted independently. They were usually survivors of small landing expeditions originating either from Mexico or the United States, and remained on the defensive in the mountains for most of the 2 years of actual war.

Terrain and supply were among the two most important factors which influenced the development of the guerrilla organizations. It is perhaps significant that the 26th of July Movement, based in the Sierra Maestra in Oriente Province, was able to preserve and expand its forces with relative security. The area is an ideal redoubt for guerrilla armies; the mountain ranges, the tallest in Cuba, fall into wooded foothills surrounded by thick brush and lowland jungle. It is highly defensible against regular armies, and the growth offers good cover for guerrilla troop movements. Oriente Province has been the traditional refuge for Cuban revolutionary movements.

Moreover, the civilian population in Oriente Province provided depots and stable supply lines from the underground groups in the cities to the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra. The guerrillas needed food, clothing, and other supplies in order to sustain themselves for prolonged guerrilla operations. The urban underground covertly supplied the guerrillas in the mountains with manufactured goods, but the guerrillas had to depend almost entirely on the local population within the surrounding areas for basic materials, especially food.

Other rebel groups were operating in the Sierra de la Trinidad and Sierra del Escambray in Las Villas Province, and in the Sierra de los Organos in the Province of Pinar del Río.

Combat Units

Guerrilla organizations were established along military lines, i.e., the composition and the structure of the combat units and the chains of command closely resembled those of a regular army. The units were flexible and allowed for variations in size and equipment according to the surroundings within which they operated. In areas that were considered favorable by the rebel leaders (mountains, hills, and jungles) and where the guerrillas were not forced to be continually on the move, the tactical units did not exceed 150 men. The ideal number, according

to Che Guevara, is one hundred men.[105] These constituted the columns, and were headed by column commanders with the rank of major.

The column was divided into platoons of 30 to 40 men, each headed by a captain. On marches the column usually consisted of five platoons: platoon number one was the advanced guard, platoon number three was the command platoon, and platoon number five was the rearguard. The care and distribution of medication, medical instruments, extra food and clothing, general supplies, and heavy weapons were the responsibilities of the platoon leader.

The platoon was in turn divided into squads of 8 to 12 men; the smaller the number, the leaders felt, the greater the mobility—an important quality of the squad.[106] On unfavorable ground, where there is unbroken terrain, where there are highways and junctions, or in suburban areas, the squad was considered the tactical unit. Rapid mobility and absolute secrecy was necessary and could be achieved only if the units remained small. When fighting in these areas, the squad rarely exceeded 15 men. The squad was headed by a lieutenant. Other guerrilla organizations, not at first linked with the 26th of July Movement and smaller than the Sierra Maestra organization, operated in squad size. Their numbers remained small throughout the war and they were unable to muster enough men to form large columns.

Aside from combat duties, some special units were assigned various auxiliary functions. Maintaining troop discipline, promoting soldiers for valor, and educating new recruits were the responsibilities of the Commission on Internal Order. Special teams were assigned to transport, watch, and advanced guard and rearguard duties. An extra-combat utility platoon composed of volunteers, referred to by the guerrillas as the "suicide platoon," was held in readiness to assume the most dangerous of duties, such as holding off an enemy counteroffensive.

The guerrilla organization of the 26th of July Movement was headed by a commander in chief, Fidel Castro, who appointed the column commanders. After a permanent guerrilla base was firmly established in the Sierra Maestra, the commander in chief appointed base commanders who established bases in other areas. In early 1958, for instance, Raúl Castro was sent by his brother with a small contingent to the Sierra del Cristal in northeastern Oriente to establish a new base. Under the base commander were columns of varying sizes, each headed by a column commander. At this stage of the revolution the organization was becoming more complex and the commander in chief relegated to the base commanders the authority to appoint the column commanders serving under them. The column commander named the captains and the lieutenants under him. The guerrilla planning staff, in charge of operations, was made up of the commander in chief and several column

commanders. Its number was increased late in the fighting stage of the revolution when several of Batista's officers defected to the rebel army.

Civil Organizations Under Military Command

A civil organization, headed by members of the military organization, was established in guerrilla-held territory when the 26th of July Movement military organization expanded its bases and incorporated a large number of Cuban civilians. Tasks were simple at first and consisted primarily of collecting taxes and donations, distributing propaganda material, and maintaining a supply line between city and mountain. Later, as military needs increased, the organization became more complex: it regulated all civilian life within the guerrilla-held territory and coordinated military and civilian efforts.

An administrative council, which took the executive, legislative, and judicial functions, became the vital feature of the civil organization. It was usually headed by someone with legal training. Aside from collecting taxes and donations, it organized the peasants and workers, and set up a civil health administration and an accounting department in charge of supplies. It issued penal codes, civil codes, and agrarian reform laws which were enforced by a military tribunal. "Subsequently, the laws fixing qualifications of candidates in the elections that were to be held later throughout the country were established . . ." by the council.[107] The council allocated many of its functions to noncombatant guerrilla agencies when the organization was further expanded. A finance commission and a supply procurement agency are two examples of such noncombatant guerrilla agencies which were established.

Peasant organizations similar to those established within guerrilla territory were established in adjacent areas. These organizations served the revolutionary effort in two ways: they provided a channel through which crops grown in guerrilla territory could be sold at a profit in other areas; and they made it possible for guerrillas to penetrate and infiltrate the areas and to enlarge the guerrilla front. Word of the good that was being done for the inhabitants in guerrilla-held territory spread in these adjacent areas and aided in psychologically conditioning the population for a guerrilla advance.

Recruiting, Training, and Indoctrination

Basic training in the fundamentals of guerrilla warfare became an important aspect of the Cuban Revolution. Training bases were established in several foreign countries as well as in Cuba during the revolution; and when the recruits completed courses in the handling of arms, commando-type fighting, and political orientation, they were flown or shipped to join the forces in Cuba. The recruits who trained in the

mountainous regions of Cuba often received practical combat experience while training.

Initially, when guerrilla groups began to organize, the leaders relied on whatever volunteers were available: in Cuba the leader depended on close friends and associates; in foreign countries, he depended on long-time exiles or those who made themselves available. There were no facilities for making a complete investigation of individuals. As the guerrilla bands developed and their ranks were sizably increased, however, a selection process was established whereby volunteers were individually screened for possible recruitment. Usually the volunteers filled out applications which were individually reviewed by a recruitment section of the guerrilla units. The application revealed the full personal history of each recruit including past political activities. If favorably judged by the recruitment section, a recruit was admitted into the guerrilla army. He was classified as either top quality, regular, or third rate. If the investigation of the recruit revealed that he was an informer for the enemy, he was tried as a traitor by a war tribunal.[108] There were some desertions in spite of the rigorous selection process.

Many of the recruits who were accepted into the guerrilla organizations could not immediately be assigned positions in combat units because of a lack of military weapons. In such cases, the recruits were organized into units employed in secondary missions such as guard, police, or counterintelligence. As soon as weapons became available, these recruits became full-fledged guerrilla fighters if they were trained as such.[109] Noncombatants continued to fill the ranks of the guerrilla armies; up to one-third of the members of some columns were unarmed late in the fighting stage because of the lack of guns and ammunition.

Training and indoctrinating recruits was the fundamental task of the revolutionary leaders; and until secure guerrilla bases were established in Cuba in 1957, this task was performed under the most difficult conditions. Fidel Castro and the group that invaded the Moncada barracks in 1953 employed a chicken farm in Siboney, on the outskirts of Santiago de Cuba, to prepare for their July 26 attack. Training was almost confined to short political briefings and revolutionary exhortations rather than extensive gun handling and firing and military tactics.

The survivors of the Moncada episode were sent to prison on the Isle of Pines where they established a school for revolutionaries. Castro taught Cuban history and politics while Pedro Miret, another revolutionary leader, conducted refresher courses in weapons and military tactics.[110] While in prison, Castro became convinced that a successful revolution could only be organized and launched from a foreign base.

With the aid of General Alberto Bayo, a Spanish Civil War veteran who fought in the Republican armed forces in the late thirties, over

80 Cuban exiles established a revolutionary school on the outskirts of Mexico City in 1956. Led by Fidel Castro, who had been released along with other political offenders when Batista declared a general amnesty in the spring of 1955, the small band received extensive field training and instruction in guerrilla warfare. The ranch on which the school was established, protected by towers and walls, had an area of 60 square miles and was broken with mountains and jungle growth—ideal for guerrilla training.

Guns, ammunition, and other supplies were purchased with funds received from former Cuban President Prío Socarrás, and Bayo's students were started on a rigorous training program which included target practice with pistols, rifles, and machineguns, and care of the wounded. Later the men were taken on forced marches of up to 5 hours, increasing gradually to 15 hours. They marched up and down hills and mountains, cut trails, simulated ambush attacks and withdrawals.[111] The selection of courses for classroom instruction included operations and formation for light campaigns, defense against air attack, manufacture of bombs and explosives, topography, and other information pertinent to the conduct of irregular war against a superior force.[112]

In June 1956 the young trainees were discovered by the Mexican authorities; some were detained for several weeks and their guns, ammunition, and supplies confiscated. They were able to reorganize very shortly thereafter, and though under police observation, purchased more arms and supplies and set up arsenals in various apartment houses in Mexico City. Meanwhile, the rebels continued to hold classes on revolutionary warfare: they drew maps of Cuba, studied geography, and listened to Castro lecture on political philosophies. They also listened to radio broadcasts and held discussions on current affairs. Field exercises were held on another ranch near the U.S. border—a 3 days' trip from Mexico City. The Mexican authorities, acting on information given them by a Cuban informer, again captured the guns and ammunition.[113] And once again work began to replace the lost arms while preparations were made to purchase an invasion yacht. Even under the watchful eyes of the Mexican police, Cuban exiles continued to be trained in Mexico and to be transported individually to Cuba throughout the war.

Bayo maintained contacts with all the military organizations. After training the 26th of July Movement expeditionary force, he trained the leaders of a smaller force in early 1957 that was connected with the *Organización Auténtica,* an organization headed by Prío Socarrás. The courses in guerrilla warfare were brief and lasted only several weeks; during the previous year most of the men had received field training in

the Dominican Republic with the tacit approval of that government.[114] Bayo continued his work in Florida.

A school system was organized and directed by Che Guevara in 1957–58 after the insurgents established a permanent guerrilla base in the Sierra Maestra. Within 2 years the insurgents expanded their system to include 30 schools.[115] The schools offered courses in reading, writing, history, and political science as well as gymnastics and guerrilla-type training to recruits and the local population alike. The students had their own medical section and served in rotation in taking care of their own supply needs. Many were trained to be teachers and served in the school system rather than in combat teams.[116] William A. Morgan, a U.S. war veteran from Ohio, instructed the nucleus and the fresh recruits of the Second National Front of Escambray organization in the art of guerrilla warfare while in the Sierra de la Trinidad in 1958.

Intelligence

The men and women who made up the intelligence network that gathered the information necessary for the conduct of guerrilla warfare were usually local inhabitants. They maintained direct contact with Batista's front lines and forwarded coded information, via a postal system, on the enemy's forward encampments and rear troop movements. In this way the guerrilla bands avoided places where there was large enemy troop concentration and attacked the smaller units in the most unexpected places.

Prior to an assault on a populated area, advance information on telephone and telegraph lines, radio stations, railroads, airfields, number of enemy troops if any, and terrain was necessary to plan the operation, avoid surprises, and operate with the greatest possibility of success. Information received from the local inhabitants was analyzed by the intelligence sections of the guerrilla organizations.

Supply

The guerrilla bands had three essential sources of supply; local inhabitants, friendly parties outside the theatre of operations, and Batista's army.[f] The various guerrilla bases were generally able to solve their food problems; but such items as leather, cloth, paper, and machinery were usually transported from distant cities to the bases. War material that could not be produced locally, such as heavy arms

[f] Leaders of the 26th of July Movement insisted that only about 15 percent of the arms and weapons were imported from foreign sources. Their chief source of arms and weapons was Batista equipment captured on the field.[117]

and equipment, was either imported from external sources or captured from Batista's army.

The insurgents collected direct or indirect taxes, accepted donations, or confiscated property from the local inhabitants to satisfy their basic supply needs. In the Sierra Maestra, most of the cultivated land and farm animals that could produce meat, milk, butter, and cheese were collectivized. In this way the guerrilla army requisitioned whatever supplies were necessary to maintain itself and distributed what remained to the inhabitants through guerrilla agencies.

Supplies received from outside the area of operations were purchased with funds collected by the underground organizations working in various cities of Cuba and foreign countries. Wealthy benefactors and sympathizers contributed heavily to all the revolutionary organizations, regardless of their political affiliations. Prío Socarrás bought arms for various revolutionary groups from 1952 to 1959; he is said to have spent five million dollars for the purpose of ousting Batista. However, most of the arms shipped from Mexico and the United States to Cuba were seized by the Cuban authorities.[118] Several organizations printed revolutionary bonds, a type of promissory note, with which to purchase materials. Supply terminals linked the distant cities to the guerrilla bases through which the much needed equipment, transported during the night, reached the insurgents. Pack mules and local peasants carried the supplies up the mountain trails, and the guerrillas cleared landing strips to receive supplies shipped by air from foreign countries.

The guerrillas always faced the problem of keeping up an adequate supply of ammunition. For this reason the guerrillas usually planned operations against an encampment or fortification where they would always be assured of capturing enemy arms and ammunition.[119] Ammunition was not plentiful enough for target shooting until mid-1958 in the Sierra Maestra. "Dry shooting" (target practice without firing) was widespread in the early months of the war. By mid-1958, the guerrillas had also acquired a pool of stolen trucks and jeeps.[120]

Propaganda

Special sections of the guerrilla units dealt with propaganda.[g] In the early months of the war, when the guerrilla bands had few means of diffusing revolutionary ideas among the local inhabitants, propaganda was disseminated almost entirely by word of mouth. Small presses, ink, and paper eventually reached the mountain areas from the cities, and the first rebel newspaper, *El Acusador,* was published along with an assortment of bulletins and pamphlets. By early 1958, a small radio

[g] See Section E, *Techniques,* for content and themes of propaganda.

transmitter was set up in the Sierra Maestra which began to broadcast news of the military skirmishes as well as revolutionary exhortations throughout Cuba on the shortwave 40-meter band.[121]

Weapons

Weapons, especially the heavy type, were scarce during the early months of the war. Much of the arms and ammunition had been captured by the authorities in the foreign countries; more were lost when expeditions bogged down upon landing on the Cuban coast. However, arms shipments arriving from foreign countries and arms captured from the enemy during 1957 and 1958 increased the supply.

Cuban guerrillas favored long range weapons requiring small expenditures of bullets supported by a group of automatic or semiautomatic weapons during their skirmishes with the Batista army.[122] The Garand rifle was preferred over other arms, but it had the disadvantage of expending too much ammunition when fired by inexperienced guerrillas. Twenty-two caliber rifles, used primarily for target shooting, double-barreled shotguns loaded with large shot, Belgian sporting rifles, some revolvers, and an occasional vintage Krag or Winchester were also available. An ideal composition of arms for a guerrilla unit of 25 men, according to Che Guevara, would be between 10 to 15 single-shot rifles, and about 10 automatic or semiautomatic pieces which would include the Garand, Browning, or the more modern Belgian FAL and M-14 rifles.[123] Sixteen caliber sawed-off shotguns were used to hurl "Molotov Cocktails." Bombs, grenades, and mines, often manufactured within the guerrilla bases, were also included in the guerrilla arsenals.

War Industry

Several small cottage industries were developed in the Sierra Maestra after the guerrillas had established a secure base. Two of the most important were leatherworks and gunsmithing.[124] The leatherworks consisted of a small shop where shoes and boots, damaged by the long marches over rough and rocky terrain, were repaired. When the industry expanded, hides were tanned within the base and the guerrillas began to manufacture their own shoes, cartridge belts, and knapsacks.

The repair of small arms and the manufacture of special weapons, grenades, bombs, and mines were features of the revolution that were not peculiar to the Sierra Maestra operations. General Bayo had instructed all Cuban groups in the methods of constructing grenades, incendiary and time bombs, and a number of devices to obtain maximum delays in bomb explosions.[125] These bombs were particularly useful when assaulting military barracks and garrisons.

Shoes for pack mules and water canteens for guerrilla troops were also fabricated in the Sierra Maestra. Ramón Castro, brother of Fidel, devised a formula for the manufacture of jeep and truck fuel which became widely used in transport operations. A small shop manufactured cigars and cigarettes. Miles of telephone lines were strung and roads were constructed in the mountain areas. An engine and dynamo generated electric power for the small industries.[126]

Medical

Care for the sick and wounded was generally limited to the application of first aid and use of whatever medical supplies were available. A medical section was responsible for all medicines and first aid kits. In a few instances guerrilla units had the fortune of having medical students within their group; some instruments were available and minor surgery was performed. The sick and wounded were usually left to the care of friendly peasants.

Some of the guerrilla bases established small hospitals. Volunteers who had medical experience were used as corpsmen. In the Sierra Maestra, medical care became more extensive than in the other guerrilla bases; hospitals and aid stations, established for the guerrilla army, also served the civilian population. Diagnostic and X-ray facilities were available, and major operations were performed. Female nurses cared for the convalescing patients.

Underground

Internal

The overwhelming majority of Cubans who participated in the revolutionary movement against Batista were members of the various underground organizations that harassed the police and the military in the cities. These organizations kept more than half of Batista's security forces occupied in the cities during most of the revolution. In 1956 the Cuban underground "was an unknown quantity at best compounded of diverse, unstable and often incompatible elements";[127] and until some sort of agreement to coordinate the activities of these diverse groups was concluded in mid-1958, they recognized no central leadership and generally operated independently.

Members of one underground organization often held membership in other organizations. A certain amount of unofficial cooperation between groups was achieved through this type of dual membership. Frequently, an individual concurrently exerted political pressure through a professional association, engaged in clandestine activities for an illegal organization, and retained political loyalties in a party

that predated the revolution. Allegiance to any one group was often incidental, and many of the young men who participated in terrorist acts did not identify themselves with any particular party.[128]

Cells of the 26th of July Movement and the Civic Resistance Movement, two closely allied underground groups, were organized throughout the island.[h] The 26th of July Movement underground organization, the urban branch of Fidel Castro's organization in the mountains, dealt primarily in sabotage and other subversive operations in the cities. Operations were planned by the "National Direction," a staff composed of a national leader and his chief coordinators. The chief coordinators in turn headed the branch organizations in various large cities. The deputy leader of the "National Direction" was a woman; she organized and led the women's underground units of the organization. Militias were organized by chief coordinators in several cities and were held in readiness for the possibility of a mass insurrection. In Havana, for example, two thousand militiamen were armed for an abortive general strike that was called for April 1958.[129]

The Civic Resistance Movement, whose members included some of the most prominent citizens in Cuba, performed important logistical and economic functions along with its terroristic activities. It developed into a quasi-agency through which many Cubans lent support to the various guerrilla armies in the mountains. Two of its leaders in Havana coordinated the activities of the underground stations that were established in other large cities. Many of its conservative members acted as a moderating force on the radical revolutionary programs of the 26th of July Movement. Its organization was divided into three major sections: propaganda, fundraising, and supply.[i] The propaganda section, charged with printing and distributing propaganda materials, employed nearly four hundred persons. It had at its disposal a printing plant, and multilith, ditto, and mimeograph machines with which to print its many thousand pamphlets and bulletins. Three bulletins a week were published with as many as 65,000 copies each in the spring of 1958.[131] The fundraising section collected dues from its members and sold "freedom bonds" to nonmembers in its effort to help finance the revolution. Twenty thousand dollars was raised in dues alone by the end of March 1958—an increase of $18,000 from the previous November.[132] The supply section purchased, stored, and forwarded military provisions to the guerrilla armies in the mountains.

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[h] Cells were usually designated by a letter of the alphabet, and members of the cells operated under fictitious code names.

[i] These sections were divided into cells of approximately 10 persons each. Dr. Leopoldo Hernandez who headed the propaganda section knew only 12 of the 400 persons it employed.[130]

Other underground organizations which conducted sabotage and terrorist activities were not as strong as the 26th of July Movement and the Civic Resistance Movement, but they added to the nuisance value of the total Cuban underground operations. Moreover, some of their members were mature political leaders whose influence brought wider Cuban and international support to the revolution. Prío Socarrás' *Organización Auténtica,* which had professional and business support, headed a substantial underground network in the cities, a small guerrilla army in the mountains, and was financing the operations of other organizations as well. Triple A, headed by Dr. Aureliano Sánchez Arango, former member of Prío's Cabinet, was a small and closely-knit group that began operations in 1953. It was quartered in Havana and specialized in sabotage.[j] The Montecristi group, headed by a former president of the Cuban Bank for Industrial and Agricultural Development under Prío's administration, allied itself with high-ranking military officers and attempted a military coup in April 1956. It continued operations throughout the war.

Students from the University of Havana were organized under the Federation of University Students (FEU), a small loosely knit group which dealt in assassination and distributed pamphlets denouncing the government. FEU had pledged its support to the 26th of July Movement in 1956 when its president, José Antonio Echevarria, signed a pact with Fidel Castro in Mexico. The Revolutionary Directorate, an outgrowth of FEU, was founded as a fighting organization in early 1957 before an abortive attempt was made to assassinate Batista in March of that year. It extended its membership to a broad spectrum of insurgent youth which included students and alumni, and supported a small army in Las Villas Province. It had approximately one thousand men under its leadership in Las Villas.[134]

Several other groups were organized and either dissolved or merged with stronger groups during the revolution. The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, for example, plotted with the connivance of dissident army officers to capture a large military installation as early as April 1953. It failed and was later dissolved in 1955. From this organization grew the Revolutionary Action Movement which merged with the 26th of July Movement in 1956.

External

Exiled and resident Cubans operated 62 branches of the Cuban underground in the United States, several Latin American countries,

[j] Triple A had an organization of approximately 18 persons in Havana in 1957. The organization operated in groups of "threes" or "fours," each assigned a leader and a specific target.[133]

and Puerto Rico prior to and during the revolution.[135] Fidel Castro laid the groundwork for his external organization in the fall of 1955. He obtained a visa from the U.S. Embassy in Mexico and flew to Florida and New York where he met with other Cubans and established an underground network. Other groups also established external underground systems, but the 26th of July Movement organization appears to have been the most extensive. Underground units were also formed in Mexico, Costa Rica, and Venezuela. Distributing propaganda material, gathering information useful for the conduct of guerrilla operations in Cuba, soliciting funds from sympathizers, recruiting and training guerrilla fighters, and smuggling arms and supplies into Cuba were the main functions of the external underground network.

The most important centers in the United States were established in Washington, D.C., and Miami. In Washington, an agent was planted as chief clerk in the Cuban Office of Military and Air Attache in early 1957 to gather and photostat information concerning Cuban arms purchases and delivery orders. Through Washington contacts the information was flown to other agents in Miami, sent to Castro, and delivered to the various underground units in Cuba to be used for propaganda purposes.[136] Two agents, one representing the 26th of July Movement and the other the *Auténticos,* acted as lobbyists to protest shipments of war material to Batista. One, Ernesto Betancourt, was Castro's agent and was registered with the Department of Justice; and the other, Carlos Piad, representing the Prío group, was not officially registered.

The functions of the Miami organization were twofold—military and political. The military function consisted of soliciting contributions with which to buy arms and supplies, securing arms from all over the United States and Central America with the aid of the chief of the rebel air force, and expediting shipment of military items and men to Cuba.[k] Distributing propaganda material and laying the groundwork for the unification of political and revolutionary opposition groups were the political functions.

Labor Organization

Organized labor was one of the most powerful political forces in Cuba under Batista. It had a successful working relationship with the government which continued until Batista was overthrown. Unsuccessful pro-Castro attempts were made to attract labor to the revolutionary cause; but except for a few small unions that formed a national

[k] Approximately 90 percent of the supplies sent to Cuba during the insurrection came from the United States and were financed by funds raised in the United States.[137]

underground labor front, organized labor did not join the revolution until victory had been achieved by the revolutionary forces, and then only "as a mechanical result of nationalization from above."[138]

Approximately one-half of the Cuban workers of a labor force of two million belonged to labor organizations before 1959.[1] Local unions were usually linked with nationwide federations of the same or related industries whose central organs had headquarters in Havana. Some federations had provincial branches that exerted more influence over labor policies than their nationwide parent organizations. The majority of federations were joined in a Confederation of Cuban Workers which "exercised considerable control over most of its affiliates" prior to 1959.[140]

Political Parties or Organizations—Legal, Illegal

Several existing political parties and organizations, thrown into a state of confusion after Batista took power in 1952, offered weak but open opposition during the insurrection. The opposition parties were first dissolved by Batista, but they later reemerged when he announced that elections would be held in 1954. Batista consolidated his political power around the Progressive Action Party, the Democratic Party, and the Liberal Party. The maneuverings of other parties produced no unified opposition. Except for the Popular Socialist Party, whose organization remained intact, opposition parties were splintered by factional disputes over questions on participation in government, passive resistance, or violent opposition during the revolution.

The two most important non-Communist parties opposing Batista after 1952 were the *Auténtico* and *Ortodoxo*. Both parties were organized on the national, provincial, municipal, and ward levels. Leaders of organized civic or professional groups supported the national party leaders if their views were represented. Ward sergeants mobilized local support for the parties at the ward level.

The *Auténticos* split into two major factions after 1952, and each group carried with it its own support from all levels. Grau San Martín headed one group that campaigned against Batista in the 1954 presidential election before he withdrew his candidacy on the eve of the election. Prío Socarrás headed the other faction, but he remained in exile throughout most of the revolution and his group remained politically inactive. The *Auténtico* had operated clandestinely as the *Organización*

[1] It has been estimated that there were from 800,000 to 1,500,000 Cuban workers organized into labor unions before 1959. However, the source of this information is inclined to believe that the higher figure is inflated.[139]

Auténtica during most of the 1930's, and it did the same in the 1950's under Prío's leadership. It maintained an underground group in the cities and a guerrilla army in the mountains. Many of its members joined with various other insurgent groups during the revolution.

The *Ortodoxo* split into three major factions in 1953.

> The "electoralists" were dismissed by the rest because they advocated participation in elections held by the Batista government. The independents, loyal to the *Ortodoxo* tenet of non-alliance with other parties, refused to cooperate. The Montrealists, who sought agreement with the *Auténticos* and of whom a faction . . . proposed a common front of all opposition groups including the Communists, were unable to work out an acceptable alliance.[141]

Despite their early reluctance to join the revolutionary movement, many of the *Ortodoxo* leaders became active members of the movement. The party had several representatives in the original Castro group that attacked the Moncada barracks in 1953.

The organizational structure of the Popular Socialist Party, headed by Secretary-General Blas Roca, was similar to Communist parties in other countries. A Political Bureau, made up of top Communist leaders, headed the larger Central Committee of leaders and other party functionaries. Provincial and municipal committees, organized according to government territorial divisions, ran party activities in cells within their respective jurisdictions. During the periods when the party held legal status, it kept an underground network of cells in readiness for use in insurrectionary activities. It had a number of allied organizations such as Socialist Youth, composed of university students, and it infiltrated other legal organizations, such as labor unions.

The party was publicly critical of the Batista coup, but it adjusted readily in order to maintain its legal status. It was declared illegal in October 1955, however, and went underground with its organization intact. In the last few months of the war, the party ordered its members to join other insurrectional groups.

Social Organizations

Membership in professional associations was required of most practitioners during Batista's rule. These associations which the government supervised had great influence over their members; they not only controlled professional standards but also ensured the loyalty of their

members to the government. Individuals who belonged to professional associations also joined other civic or religious groups.

The professional associations, along with religious, fraternal, civic, and cultural associations, did not actively oppose Batista but gradually withdrew their support of the government during the revolution. By March 1958 they had joined together to form the Joint Committee of Cuban Institutions and to propose formulae of compromise between Batista and the rebel groups. When these failed, the top leaders, who represented 40 national institutions, met in Havana in March 1958 and issued a petition which demanded in unmistakable terms the resignation of the Batista government.[142] The document contained no personal signatures, but merely listed the institutions which subscribed to its terms. These people who were suspected of having anything to do with its publication were immediately sought by Batista's police.

During the same month, a number of judges in Havana felt that they could no longer tolerate the abuse and ridicule that the administration of justice was receiving from Batista's police during the revolution. They sent a weak petition to the Chamber of Administration of the Court of Appeals pleading that the Chamber pass a resolution in order to strengthen the judiciary, but no action was taken.

Religious Organizations

The Roman Catholic Church, the principal church of Cuba, had fairly insignificant political influence and played a minimal role during the course of the revolution. Although it had an extensive organization with its clergy, schools, convents, and laymen's groups in the 1950's along with an increasing number of loyal members, it deliberately abstained from taking an active part in the political process except when it denounced communism and asked its following not to vote for the Popular Socialist Party.

The Church hierarchy threw aside its political aloofness, however, when the situation between Batista and the revolutionaries reached a pitch in 1958, and "authoritative intervention, which the Church was in a position to provide, was thought to be the only means of inducing both sides to come to some arrangement that would allow the country a respite."[143] The hierarchy met in Havana to discuss the national situation and issued an episcopal statement, one of the Church's strongest weapons, asking for the "establishment of a government of national unity which might prepare the return of our Fatherland to a peaceful and normal political life."[144] Batista, although much surprised by the Church's attitude, responded to the plea by setting up a four-man

commission, appointed by the Church, with a view to negotiating with the rebels. Batista later ignored the commission.

TECHNIQUES

Guerrilla Warfare

December 1956 Invasion: Fighting Stage Begins

A small conspiratorial movement of 82 revolutionists, members of the 26th of July Movement led by Fidel Castro and trained on Mexican soil, boarded a seagoing motor cruiser hiding on the Tuxpan River in Mexico and set sail for Oriente Province on November 25, 1956. According to the original invasion plan, the vessel was to land on November 30 near Niquero, west of Santiago de Cuba, where the insurgents expected to link up immediately with one hundred waiting men. They were then to proceed to the city of Manzanillo to meet other rebel groups and attack army detachments in that city. Meanwhile, underground action squads in Santiago, Holguín, and other cities where government forces maintained military garrisons were to create confusion with shootings and bombings. The rebels believed that hundreds of volunteers, armed with weapons seized from Manzanillo, would join the uprising.

The uprising did not go according to plan. The yacht carrying the expeditionaries was 2 days off schedule. It was designed to carry eight passengers plus crew but instead carried 82 men, the crew, and a cargo of heavy equipment. Rough seas added to the delay. Furthermore, communication between the underground action squads which were to create confusion in Santiago and Holguín was faulty: some squads went into action on November 30 as planned, while others, when news of a successful invasion failed to arrive, decided to await developments and remained inactive. Underground units that did go into action in Santiago were defeated by a well-equipped infantry sent in by the General Staff of Batista's army to reinforce army and police units already there. In Holguín, an action squad attempted and failed to seize a warehouse stored with dynamite. And finally, the yacht had been sighted by government aircraft, and the guerrilla troops were attacked by the Rural Guard 5 days after landing. Casualties were high and only 12 men survived to initiate the fighting stage of the revolution.

The survivors had reached the Sierra Maestra by January 1957, and for over a year they concentrated on preserving and expanding their forces, continually on the run from government bombing missions. Other organizations established guerrilla units in other areas of Cuba and they also were concerned primarily with preserving their forces. Occasionally, small guerrilla bands came down from the mountains

to conduct hit-and-run raids against military garrisons and enemy columns during the night hours.[m]

These attacks seldom varied. Against a military garrison, the guerrilla band was divided into three units; one unit protected the rear from enemy reinforcements while the other two units attacked the garrison from both flanks. In no more than an hour or two, the band retreated with stolen provisions to its mountain redoubt which was never more than a day's march away. Against an enemy column, the guerrillas provoked the government troops into an attack and forced them headlong into a trap; if the government troops attempted to avoid the trap, they found themselves in another, encircled and attacked from behind. Road mines and delayed time bombs destroyed enemy vehicles. Sugar plantations were burned to cripple the economy, but this scorched-earth policy was revoked by Castro when it antagonized Cubans against him.

Although guerrilla attacks on government troops and military installations did not result in victories for the revolutionaries, they were embarrassing to the government and caused anxiety within the military high command. Until the 26th of July Movement guerrillas successfully attacked a military garrison in Ubero in May 1957, government sources had attempted to create the illusion that no rebel forces existed in the mountains. Government troops in Oriente, far outnumbering the rebels, were unable to cope with the military situation. Campaigns against the guerrillas in the mountains were fruitless and the army fell back on a strategy of containment. The guerrillas seldom defended the terrain on which they fought; therefore aviation and armor against them was useless, artillery had little effect, and recoilless rifles seldom found a target. Hand grenades and submachineguns proved to be the most useful weapons.

Guerrilla Operations Expanding: Batista Launches Offensive

A new phase of guerrilla operations began in the spring of 1958. By then, a firm base had been established in the Sierra Maestra, and a second front was opened in Oriente Province when Raúl Castro led a column to the northeastern mountain ranges of the Sierra del Cristal in March. He established another guerrilla base there, similar to the base in the Sierra Maestra, and operated within the surrounding area.

Still lacking arms, however, the guerrillas could not expand their units into a potent military striking force, but managed to create the illusion that one already existed. They operated in small groups, sniping

[m] "During the early months of the fighting, the only military tactic used by the rebels was to ambush small government patrols for their weapons. As the patrols grew larger, the rebel underground furnished mines and the Fidelistas were able to turn back several punitive thrusts made at them in the mountains by ringing their strongholds with mines."[145]

military outposts and convoys, all the while adding to the rebel arsenal. In this phase of operations, the guerrillas increased acts of sabotage, inflicting some damage on the country's communication system, and harassing transport and highways.[n] Government military operations, concentrated on keeping the transport arteries open, held the guerrillas within a limited perimeter in the spring of 1958, and in early summer of that year succeeded in forcing some units operating in the countryside back into the Sierra Maestra.

Government forces launched an offensive against the rebels in May 1958. By this time Batista appears to have had two choices of action: abdicate or fight the rebels with all the resources he could muster. Between twelve and fifteen thousand troops were committed to the general offensive in the Oriente operations. Equipped with armored trucks and half-tracks and supported by aircraft, they continued to pour into Oriente and camped along the foothills of the mountain ranges. Fortified posts were built with concrete emplacements, light artillery moved up, and armored helicopters carried soldiers up into the hills. The army, employing regular warfare methods, contained the guerrillas operating in the Sierra Maestra, but were less successful with the stronger units under the command of Raúl Castro in the Sierra del Cristal. His units were able to inflict considerable damage on military outposts and commercial transport lines. Government aircraft, which were used in strafing and bombing missions, were unable to hit the guerrillas' vital bases. Intermittent fighting between the army and guerrilla units in Oriente and Las Villas continued throughout the summer with no significant victories scored for either side. The situation became static and remained so until the last few weeks of the war.

Meanwhile, government military affairs worsened. Disloyal officers plotted conspiracies, many others were inept and conducted themselves badly, and still others defected to the rebel army. Military operations dragged on without satisfactory results causing the supreme commander of the Oriente operations to be changed several times. Rivalry between the Chief of Operations and the chief of the military territory in which tactical forces were operating arose over the dispute of territorial commands. The Joint Chiefs of Staff divided Oriente into two military districts, and assigned one to each man in an attempt to settle the dispute.[146]

[n] The general objective of this tactic was to isolate the government military outposts by halting all traffic over highways.

Guerrilla Counteroffensive

Advance preparations for the guerrilla counteroffensive began in August. Two columns led by Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos, Castro's top commanders, marched from the Sierra Maestra and entered Las Villas Province in October. The columns had broken through the government cordon surrounding the Sierra Maestra, and except for several brushes with government troops which scattered some of the guerrilla units, they reached the Escambray mountains fairly intact. Guevara met with leaders of other guerrilla organizations and all agreed to combine forces in an offensive that was designed to capture the entire province. The Las Villas campaign began on December 20.

Encounters between government troops and guerrilla units in Oriente continued in November and December. The Castro brothers widened their perimeters of operations and, avoiding the major government outposts, attacked some of the smaller ones. They never fought the regular army on a defined front.[o] Several outposts were taken by the guerrillas,[p] often requiring house-to-house combat, but were abandoned when government reinforcements were sent in. The major garrisons were held by the government, but the army's entire effort to keep the Central Highway open and prevent the garrisons from being isolated failed. The guerrillas succeeded in holding their own against a rapidly disintegrating army and in paralyzing the trading towns of Oriente by isolating them from the rest of the country.

The largest single guerrilla operation, under the command of Che Guevara, began toward the end of December. Columns which had increased in size with an influx of new volunteers headed in three directions to capture the strategic cities of Sancti-Spíritus, Cienfuegos, and Yaguajay. From those points, the guerrillas marched toward their main objective, the city of Santa Clara. The guerrillas met resistance from the remnants of Batista's die-hard units making a last stand, but by the last day of the year had succeeded in virtually cutting the island in half. When there was no longer an army to fight, Castro insisted on carrying out his plans for an invasion of Santiago and his guerrilla forces took the provincial capital without a struggle. The takeover of the country by the revolutionary groups was orderly and well-organized by the time Castro arrived in Havana on January 8.

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[o] "By early December, the roads and most of the countryside had come under rebel control after dark; by daylight, nothing moved but Batista's forces in not less than company strength and usually with tanks and air cover."[147]

[p] One source had this to say about guerrilla assaults: "The tactic which the rebels called an assault was not an assault at all as we use the word. It meant the rebel commander would infiltrate their troops by dark to positions as close to an objective as they could find concealment. They would then keep it under uninterrupted small arms fire 24 hours a day. But they would not advance nor would they use demolitions."[148]

Strikes

Revolutionary leaders firmly believed that the Batista government would be overthrown by a mass uprising precipitated by a general revolutionary strike led by the urban resistance movement and seconded by armed action.[q] The strike, then, was considered a very important revolutionary technique. Two important strikes had been planned prior to the fighting stage, one to support the attack on the Moncada barracks in 1953 and the other to support the December 1956 invasion, but neither got off to a start.

Two general strikes were called during the fighting stage. The first, in August 1957, began in Santiago de Cuba and quickly mushroomed and spread to other cities, most of them in Oriente. It did well considering that it had no prior planning or prior organization. It appeared to have been spontaneous; it began when the population of Santiago closed shop for the funeral of a revolutionary leader.[r] The police and Rural Guard were immediately sent into the trouble spots by the government and the strike was put down. Santiago was paralyzed for several days despite police efforts to bring things back to order. Batista's censorship kept the news of the strike from reaching the entire island and was thus able to keep the disturbance localized.

The April 1958 strike was planned and announced almost a month ahead. Castro revealed on March 12 that a strike would be called sometime in April. The underground units were alerted, and they distributed bulletins in the cities instructing the workers on how to conduct themselves during the strike. The strike began in Santiago on the night of April 8. It spread to other areas on April 9, but in many cities was put down in several hours by the police. Batista had made use of the month-long warning. Congress had granted him special powers to take severe measures against the strikers. The morale of the revolutionaries reached a low ebb after the strike was put down. Batista might have been able to give the guerrillas a devastating blow had he been ready to launch a major offensive at this time.

The failure of this strike underscored a number of important facts. The underground was not prepared for this type of large-scale coordinated effort because its various organizations lacked unity and cooperation. More important, it indicated that the workers and the trade unions did not wish to carry off a general strike; they were doing very

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[q] Thus the revolution was to be a "frontal assault" or a revolution from "below": a revolution whose strategy and tactics were to be based on the actions of the masses outside the ruling elite against the instruments of power.

[r] Frank Pais, a leader of the 26th of July Movement underground organization, was shot by the police on July 30, 1957.[149]

well under Batista and were not willing to jeopardize their close ties with the government. Moreover, the Popular Socialist Party deliberately sabotaged the strike because it had not been consulted and no attempt was made to obtain its official approval. The key transport workers' unions, whose participation was necessary to conduct a successful nationwide strike, were under the influence of the PSP.[150]

The last strike to be called in direct connection with the insurrection began on New Year's Day in 1959 after Batista had resigned and fled. When Batista resigned, he delivered the government to the "constitutional substitute." But because the top government heads had resigned also, a military junta was left in control. As soon as Castro got wind of this coup d'etat, he ordered his troops not to stop fighting. He declared that the revolution had not yet triumphed and that he would only settle for unconditional surrender. At the same time he told the entire Cuban population to go on strike.[s] The Civic Resistance Movement emerged into the open to organize the strike and mobilize a militia to maintain order.

Demonstrations

Overt popular opposition to the government was often expressed in the numerous demonstrations that were staged by students and women. Antigovernment demonstrations were generally peaceful, but large police units were required to disperse the participants. Student demonstrations and antigovernment activity at the University of Havana prompted Batista to close the University in 1956, and it remained closed for the remainder of the war. Several protest marches staged in Santiago de Cuba in 1957 began when groups of women dressed in mourning marched in the streets. More women carrying banners, shouting slogans, and blocking traffic joined the original marchers. On-the-scene army and police units attempted to drive the women back, arrested some, and turned firehoses on others to disperse them. U.S. Ambassador, Earl E. T. Smith, who was present in July 1957 when a demonstration was in process, criticized police methods and his comments made newspaper headlines and radio newscasts. This incident attracted attention to the revolutionary cause, at the same time discrediting Batista.

[s] The strike appears to have been relatively successful in the sense that people left their work and homes to go out into the streets and demonstrate. It is not clear, however, that such demonstrations were not a result of yuletide celebrations and jubilance over Batista's resignation rather than as a reaction to direct orders from Castro.

Sabotage

Urban underground organizations conducted much of the sabotage since most of it was carried out in the cities. Industrial plants, the nation's communications system, and public utilities were the primary targets of the sabotage groups. Few cities were spared the bombings, raids, and fires, but such activity appears to have been more intense in areas east of Camagüey, especially Oriente Province. Sabotage sections of the guerrilla units damaged enterprises and communications close to the fighting fronts.

Sabotage began in the early stages of the revolution, but it was intensified during 1958. Telephone lines were cut, bridges were blown up, and railroads and culverts were damaged. Many vital industrial properties, especially those owned by Batista's supporters, were destroyed. Sabotage almost completely paralyzed transportation east of Camagüey. Saboteurs blew up a power station in Havana that cut off a whole section of the city from its source of electricity. Armed members of an underground group raided the central office of the National Bank and destroyed cancelled checks and bank drafts, creating chaos in the capital's business and financial house. Saboteurs also burned canefields, but this produced adverse effects: farm laborers who depended on the sugar crop for a living expressed their indignation over this technique and it was halted. By the end of 1958, economic activity in some parts of Cuba was at a virtual standstill.

Batista responded with an increase in repressive measures. Police and army units roamed the city streets in patrol cars and often prevented would-be saboteurs from destroying property. Police also raided homes suspected of harboring saboteurs and bombs, and such raids frequently resulted in the death of Cuban students and prominent citizens. In Oriente, Batista's close friend and ally, Senator Rolando Masferrer, had a personal army of two thousand men who wore army uniforms and rode in khaki-colored shortwave radio patrol cars. In times of crisis such as December 1956, August 1957, and April 1958, this vigilante force, known as the Socialist Revolutionary Movement, worked hand-in-hand with the army in suppressing disorders and eliminating revolutionaries.[151] Masferrer became one of the most hated men in Cuba and his patrol cars the express targets of "Molotov Cocktails" and other bombs thrown by rebels.

Terrorism

Terrorism, which according to Che Guevara is a "negative weapon" because it often produces results that are detrimental to the

revolutionary cause,[152] included indiscriminate bombings of public places and assassination of public officials.[t] Restaurants, marketplaces, and theaters were the targets for bomb-throwing students, who conducted the greater part of the terrorist acts. Innocent victims who happened to be on the scene of bomb explosions were killed or injured, and the Cuban population was kept in a constant state of tension. Several important heads of the government's "repressive instruments" became victims of assassins. Members of the Revolutionary Directorate planned a grandscale invasion of the executive offices to assassinate Batista and topple his regime in March 1957, but this plan misfired badly: Batista happened to have stepped out of his office momentarily, and the would-be assassins were almost immediately surrounded by a police cordon. Few escaped.

Armed forces and police answered terrorism with a vengeful wave of reprisals that turned some of Batista's strongest supporters against him. Cuban youths merely suspected of terrorism were arrested, killed, and left in the streets as a warning to others. As terrorism increased in 1958, civic institutions offered to play a conciliatory role between the government and the rebel forces. Batista became annoyed when a number of these institutions suggested that he should resign, however, and he went ahead with his harsh measures. Although both sides used terrorism as a technique, Batista's side suffered more from the negative aspects of terrorism.

Propaganda

Propaganda, a technique which aided in weakening the public confidence in the government, originated from two sources: the underground organizations in the cities, and the guerrilla bases in the mountains. The underground organizations distributed newspapers, bulletins, and leaflets devoted to matters of general interest to the country. News items depicted Batista as a tyrant and murderer, and indicted the "dictatorship" on grounds of moral cowardice, official ineptitude, and military impotence. Pictures of dead students were printed to emphasize Batista's extreme measures and harsh "acts of barbarism" committed on the defenseless civilian population. Leaflets informed Cuban workers on how to conduct themselves during strikes.

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[t] Terrorism, according to Sergius Stepniak, a 19th-century Russian terrorist, is not employed to overthrow the government but to compel it to neglect everything else: if terrorists can force the government to concentrate on the repression of terror for a long period of time, the government's position in respect to its other duties will become untenable.[153]

Word-of-mouth communication, or *radio bemba,* as it is called in Cuba, was another effective means of distributing propaganda. Slanderous remarks about public officials and distorted news of the government's activities were spread by telephone. Rumors that Batista would confiscate all bank deposits and safe-deposit boxes to save the country from bankruptcy caused a 3-day run on banks during which millions of dollars were withdrawn.

In propaganda originating from the guerrilla bases and directed at the local population close to the fighting front the rebel leaders diffused revolutionary ideas and, posing as social reformers, tried to convince the peasants that this was their revolution and that they would receive the benefits. Rebel newspapers sent out to the cities from the mountains told exaggerated accounts of guerrilla military victories and created the illusion that the guerrillas in the mountains had an irresistible force. The trickle of fighters was made to resemble a "flood of rebel troops." Loudspeakers aimed at the government troops on the fighting front were very effective in accelerating disillusionment within the army; they said that Batista was pitting Cubans against Cubans merely to maintain his "corrupt dictatorship" and that the revolution was not the army's enemy, but Batista's enemy.

Radio Rebelde, transmitting newscasts from the Sierra Maestra on a shortwave band, was put into operation in February 1958. Radio gave Fidel Castro an excellent tool of a personal nature with which to reach the Cubans in the cities. In great oratorical style, he broadcast exaggerated news of guerrilla victories and revolutionary exhortations throughout the island. Castro also convinced many members of the middle and upper classes that they need not fear his revolution; he denied categorically Batista's charges that he was a Communist and that the 26th of July Movement advocated socialization or nationalization of industries. Batista found it necessary to jam rebel broadcasts and simulate rebel newscasting over the same frequency to counter the revolutionary propaganda.

The government held firm control over Cuba's newspapers and therefore eliminated the possibility of the revolutionaries ever using them as their own propaganda organs. This press control was not exercised as "outright" censorship until the end of Batista's rule. Instead, the *botella* (bottle),

> the name applied to government sinecures and other forms of official bribery, provided a highly effective means of curtailing criticism of the government. The majority of Cuban newspapers were dependent on the *botella* for their existence and were unwilling to risk

losing their source of support by pointing up weaknesses in the regime.[154]

ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF FOREIGN POWERS (ON BOTH SIDES)

Countries Involved

The United States, several Latin American countries, and at least one European country were actively involved in the Cuban Revolution during its fighting stage. Close Cuban-United States economic ties, which persisted until 1959, and the hemisphere policy of the U.S. Government during the Cuban revolutionary period undoubtedly determined the extent of U.S. intervention in the revolution.

At that time, the hemisphere policy of the U.S. Government was centered on the desire for political stability in and political cooperation from individual Latin American countries in an attempt to ward off Communist subversion. However, many government officials, along with part of the U.S. press, felt that "repressive dictatorships" such as Batista's were, in the long run, only transitory dikes against communism, and that with their collapse the Communist takeover would be that much more forceful. These officials perceived inherent dangers in the situation and, though not pro-Castro, felt that resentment was building up in Latin America because of U.S. support of dictatorial regimes not only in Cuba but throughout the hemisphere as well.

U.S. public opinion eventually added its weight to the opposition to Batista. The U.S. press capitalized on the romantic aspects of the young rebels in the mountains who had vowed never to shave their beards until liberty and equality had been achieved. Some U.S. citizens were motivated to the degree that they attempted to join the forces of the 26th of July Movement. Others inquired as to how they could aid the Castro guerrillas financially.

The involvement of other foreign powers was relatively limited. Within the hemisphere the various governments which were headed by authoritarian governments tended to align their official policies in regard to the Cuban Revolution in favor of Batista, whereas nations like Costa Rica and Venezuela (after the overthrow of General Marcos Pérez Jimenez in early 1958) were generally supporting the Cuban

Revolution.[u] One authoritarian president, Luis Samosa of Nicaragua, claimed in December 1957 that he had prevented a rebel invasion of Cuba from Nicaragua. He added that the rebels had planned the invasion with arms sent by Prío Socarrás.[155]

Batista's relations with Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo followed a violently shifting course. The Dominican press was conducting a "vitriolic" campaign against Batista, and Cuban guerrillas were training on Dominican soil preparing for an expedition against him. Trujillo indicated to Batista in January 1957 that he wanted to make peace and the two dictators signed a pact which secured Batista's eastern sea and air flank from invasion.[156]

Trujillo's friendship with Batista was not unquestionable, however. In August 1957 three Cubans were arrested in Costa Rica and charged with plotting to assassinate President José Figueres. When they were later released, the Cubans claimed that they had been hired by Trujillo for a large reward of money and weapons to be used by the Cuban rebels in the war against Batista.[157]

Costa Rica also participated in the shipment of arms and materials to Cuba. The sympathies of President Figueres lay with the insurgents. After the Venezuelan dictator Pérez Jimenez was overthrown in January 1958, Caracas also became a center of activity for Cuban revolutionaries. Rear Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, who was President of Venezuela after the overthrow of the Pérez Jimenez government, allowed Venezuela to become the headquarters of Cuban underground groups. Rómulo Betancourt, elected President of Venezuela in December 1958, also spoke out in favor of the Cuban Revolution and promised to allow his country to become headquarters of an anti-Batista government-in-exile.[158] By the time he was inaugurated in February 1959, however, Castro had already seized power in Cuba.[v]

The efforts of the 26th of July Movement to obtain weapons and ammunition were extensive and sometimes desperate. Among the many supply channels investigated, one particularly novel attempt to secure

[u] The Latin American countries that supported the Cuban Revolution have, since 1959, developed uneasy relations with Cuba and some, especially Venezuela, have become violently opposed to the Castro regime. Several governments since Castro came to power have charged that invasion of their respective countries were being prepared in Cuba and have asked the U.S. Government for aid. "Castro Cuban" bands operating clandestinely in a number of countries have been broken up, and in several instances propaganda and other subversive materials denouncing various Latin American governments and advocating their overthrow have been discovered in Cuban diplomatic pouches and consignments to Cuban embassies by the respective authorities. On numerous occasions Cuban diplomats and delegates have been declared *persona non grata* by Latin American governments.

[v] Since the spring of 1960 Cuban propaganda has been violently denouncing the liberal leadership in several Latin American countries. President Betancourt, who formerly supported the Cuban Revolution, has been a frequent target of Castro's propaganda.

arms and foreign support came to light in a United Press dispatch carried in the daily bulletin of the Cuban Navy. It was reported that Haiti's recently-elected President, François Duvalier, had been loaned funds by Castro for use in his presidential campaign in 1957 in hopes that upon his inauguration a revolutionary base could be established in Haiti in support of the rebels in the Sierra Maestra. The dispatch further reported that Duvalier returned these funds to Castro representatives and forced all suspected revolutionaries to leave the country.[159]

Mexico's position in regard to the Cuban Revolution was formally stated in August 1957 upon the confiscation of two ships and the arrest of a group of revolutionaries attempting to invade Cuba from Mexico. The Ruiz Cortines government expressed its intention to remain neutral. It would respect political asylum but would not tolerate abuse of the asylum privileges by revolutionaries who organized revolutions within its territories against countries with which it maintained friendly relations.[160]

It will be recalled that Fidel Castro had originally invaded Cuba aboard the yacht *Granma* which sailed from Tuxpan, Mexico, in November 1956. During the previous year of arming and training in Mexico, Castro and his band had been taken into custody and later released by Mexican police, and his arsenals had been confiscated. Mexican authorities continued to break up training centers and confiscate arsenals throughout the Cuban Revolution.

Official foreign involvement in the Cuban Revolution was fairly limited on the part of the governments concerned although individuals did participate in aid to Cuba. Costa Rica committed itself to the greatest extent in the actual shipment of arms. Other leaders expressed their favor of the struggle against Batista but limited their involvement to occasional speeches and the extension of political asylum to those who were persecuted by him. The greatest concern over Cuban developments centered among the Caribbean republics, but one instance demonstrates wider reaching involvement.

A "brief flurry" was caused among the Latin American delegations to the United Nations when it was learned in September 1957 that 3 of the 27 Cuban naval officers who had participated in an anti-Batista uprising in Cienfuegos were sentenced to death in a court-martial. The head of the Uruguayan delegation called a meeting of the Latin American group to consider interceding with the Cuban Government to have the sentences commuted. The Cuban delegate warded off any further action by announcing that Batista had already decided to commute the sentences.[161]

The number of European countries that were actively involved in the Cuban Revolution is uncertain. Great Britain is on record. It

maintained a "business as usual" policy throughout the revolution and during 1958 sold arms to Batista. Castro allegedly received financial and arms support from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries from behind the Iron Curtain. "Lavish" subsidies, according to only one source, were channeled to Cuba through several Latin American countries, and on at least two occasions Russian submarines delivered an unspecified amount of arms to the Castro forces before the end of the revolution.[162]

Military Aid by Foreign Powers

In a long speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1960, Fidel Castro, as chief of the Cuban delegation, berated the United States for its support of the Batista regime during the revolutionary struggle. Among various charges of U.S. "hostility" and "duplicity" Castro maintained that the fall of Batista was delayed because of U.S. assistance of tanks, planes, and weapons supplied to the Cuban Government. He charged that the United States had not only provided Batista's army with weapons but had trained and instructed officers of the Cuban Army in their use to combat the Cuban revolutionary forces.

Three weeks after the speech the U.S. delegation to the United Nations replied to Castro's allegations.[163] The chief points of the U.S. rebuttal outlined the form of U.S. military aid to Cuba:

(1) The U.S. military missions and the shipment of arms to Cuba had been pursuant to the Mutual Security Act of 1951 which had been negotiated and signed before Batista had come to power. (Through this agreement Cuba received approximately one million dollars a year in U.S. military aid during the years 1952–58.)[164]

(2) Batista's use of the Security Agreement arms in his fight against Castro had not been in compliance with the terms of the agreement. Furthermore, the United States had halted the shipment and sale of arms to Batista when it became apparent that he had been using them to suppress an internal rebellion. The arms embargo was announced in March 1958, almost 10 months before the overthrow of Batista. Aid for fiscal year 1959 amounted to $543,000, which was used to purchase equipment (no weapons) and to support Cubans in U.S. military schools. In fiscal year 1960 the allocation dropped to $249,000.[165]

(3) The U.S. military missions had been established to give technical military advice, to help procure the arms and equipment necessary for "common defense" and defense of the hemisphere, and to arrange for the admission of Cubans to U.S. military academies. The members of the missions did not participate in and did not prepare soldiers for

action against Cuban guerrillas. They did not appear in zones of action during the revolution.

During the revolution U.S. Customs agents did their best to stop arms smuggling from the United States to the revolutionaries in Cuba. Many shipments of arms, ammunition, and men were prevented from leaving U.S. territory and on a number of occasions revolutionary agents were arrested for gunrunning in violation of U.S. neutrality vis-a-vis Cuban internal affairs.

It was revealed in testimony before a U.S. Congressional subcommittee that President Figueres of Costa Rica had supplied arms to Castro in the Sierra Maestra. One of the shipments, delivered in March 1958 by a Costa Rican National Airlines plane, consisted of 125,000 rounds of ammunition, mortars and mortar shells, 2 machineguns, 15 submachineguns, 13 or 15 M-3 machineguns, and some Mauser rifles. The shipment was a gift from President Figueres.[166]

Another source discloses that Castro allegedly received $50 million from Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela.[167] After the U.S. arms embargo, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic promptly shipped Batista five planeloads of Dominican arms.[168]

Great Britain delivered 17 British Sea Fury fighter planes along with 11 tanks in October 1958. The cost was reported at $1.8 million. The new planes put Batista's air force combat wing up to 85 planes.[169] Two months later, shortly before his fall, Batista received fifteen 30-ton British tanks. Meanwhile, the ship, "Sarmiento," took on at Hull, England, 100 tons of rockets destined for Cuba. The ship was prevented from sailing, however, because of strong anti-Batista sentiment in the British Labor Party.[170]

Political Intervention: U.S. Diplomatic Pressure

There were no major examples of U.S. intervention in Cuba's internal affairs after the Platt Amendment was abrogated in 1934, but the possibility of intervention remained. The economic influence of the United States was great, and many Cubans were aware of it. They blamed the United States for the actions of the Cuban Government and its failure "to correct abuses."[171]

During the fighting stage of the revolution, both the incumbent government and the revolutionaries competed with each other "to get American support as one of the determinants of their relative power and in the struggle to influence Cuban opinion."[172] While Batista enjoyed the backing of the United States, he held a psychological advantage. U.S. approval meant a great deal to the Cubans and especially the

military elite—one of Batista's chief sources of power. The discontinuation of U.S. arms shipments in March 1958 had a somewhat demoralizing effect on the Cuban Army. Ambassador Smith later pointed out that the U.S. embargo was intervention "by innuendo (which was persuading other friendly governments not to sell arms to Cuba) [and] that these actions had a moral, psychological effect upon the Cuban armed forces which was demoralizing to the nth degree." Ambassador Smith implied that the United States had even contributed to the rise of Castro as the embargo had "built up the morale of the revolutionary forces. Obviously when we refused to sell arms to a friendly government," Smith continued, "the existing government, the people of Cuba and the armed forces knew that the United States would no longer support Batista's government."[173]

One final act of intervention on the part of the United States was the effort to keep Castro from coming to power so as to salvage whatever was possible from the *status quo*. After the arms embargo was imposed in March, Ambassador Smith "pressured Batista to restore civil rights as a prelude to the holding of general elections June 1."[174] The State Department felt that if Batista held honest elections free of emergency restrictions and if he stepped down in favor of a popularly elected government, the revolutionaries would end their struggle to overthrow the regime and peace would soon follow.

One of Cuba's leading citizens, representing the Cuban civic institutions, approached Ambassador Smith in March and objected to the short notice given opposition groups concerning the June elections. He claimed that 3 months was too little time for the candidates and officials to prepare for a "democratic electoral process." Civic groups sent a petition, requesting that the elections be postponed, to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, whose members had final authority on the supervision of the electoral process, but the request was denied. Ambassador Smith then arranged for the elections to be postponed until the fall of 1958.[175]

Finally, it appears that many last minute efforts were made to have Batista step down long before his term of office expired in February 1959. Former Ambassador William D. Pawley, one of Batista's close American friends, flew secretly to Havana to appeal to Batista to resign and turn the government over to a neutral caretaker junta—neutral in the sense that it would be neither pro-Batista nor pro-Castro.[176] Batista resisted this scheme until the last few days of December when it then proved to be too late.

PART III—EPILOGUE

INTRODUCTION

The events which followed the fighting in Cuba moved rapidly and it soon became apparent that the revolution in its consolidation stage was developing into a social upheaval that was dedicated to the transformation of practically all aspects of Cuban society. The entire Cuban economy has been nationalized; the upper class has been virtually eliminated and its functions assumed by a minority of the middle class; a new dictatorship composed of middle-class revolutionary leaders supported by the Cuban Communist Party apparatus has replaced the old regime and has adopted Marxism-Leninism as a state ideology. The general welfare of most of those for whom the revolution was purportedly waged—the urban and rural wageworkers—has worsened. Within this matrix of revolutionary events, guerrilla units and underground groups both at home and in exile set in motion an anti-Castro and anti-Communist movement that was still very much alive in 1962.

REVOLUTIONARY ENVIRONMENT

Revolutionary Economics

Nationalization of Foreign Holdings After 1959

Political conditions in Cuba during the period from 1957 to 1959 were not favorable to private foreign investments; and after 1959, disinvestment took place as Fidel Castro was reorienting his economic planning toward the Soviet bloc.[177] U.S. and most other foreign-owned industries were nationalized, and although United States and Cuban officials discussed the manner in which U.S. private investors were to be compensated for their lost holdings, the talks broke down and little or no compensation was made.

Nationalization of foreign holdings did not sweep away Cuba's susceptibility to foreign influence however. By 1962 the island still depended on foreign markets for consumption of sugar products and on foreign imports for many manufactured items and foodstuffs. Economic ties had been transferred to the Soviet bloc and did not offer the advantages formerly available in the United States, i.e., the closeness to the markets of eastern United States, availability of standard U.S. spare parts for Cuban machinery, high prices for sugar purchased under a special quota arrangement, etc.

Revolutionary Government and Distribution of Land

Castro's basic provisions of agrarian reform are proclaimed in the Agrarian Reform Act of May 1959. The purpose of this act was to abolish

all large estates, limit the size of landholdings, and place all excess land under cooperative management or parcel it out to farm workers. The entire program of agrarian reform was placed in the control of what became a gigantic government agency, the National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA).

What the revolutionary government created in the rural areas of Cuba after 1959 was a new economy of cooperatives under state supervision and managed by former personnel of the rebel army. Most of the privately owned farmland that was expropriated by the new government was not distributed widely among the small holders and the landless peasants as was the stated purpose of Cuban agrarian reform, but instead was organized into a system of cooperatives that closely resemble the farm systems of the Soviet Union. Farmers still had no control or voice over the land they worked. Only one million acres of the expropriated land had been deeded out to peasants and small holders by May 1961, leaving 12½ million acres of the most desirable farmland—out of a total of approximately 15 million acres of tillable land—in the hands of the government.[178]

Investment and Industrial Development as a State Function After 1959

Instead of relying on the independent decisions of private businessmen "acting within a free enterprise system" the revolutionary government took on the entire responsibility for economic planning.[179] Investment and industrial development became state functions. Basically, economic planning was geared to diversifying and increasing agricultural production and establishing new industries that would produce items formerly imported from the United States without decreasing sugar production.

Success was not immediate, however, and by 1962 was still far from being realized. Sugar continued to be the major cash crop whose profits were depended upon to pay for imported goods from the Soviet bloc. Farmworkers who had spent their lives cutting sugarcane had to be taught new types of cultivation which resulted in extremely low productivity.

Experienced industrial managers and technicians fled the country leaving factories to the supervision of inexperienced personnel. The major source of raw materials and replacement parts for Cuban plants was lost when the United States imposed an embargo on exports to Cuba in October 1960. Consequently, the costliness of changing a single-crop agricultural economy into a diversified industrial economy has made the transition difficult, and the burden has been placed on the Cuban masses through higher taxes and belt-tightening austerity programs.

Labor Conditions After 1959: State Control over Organized Labor

Fidel Castro came to power in 1959 with no support from organized labor. He attempted to mobilize the support of the workers behind him in April 1958, when he urged them to rise against Batista in a general revolutionary strike. But labor leaders did not support the strike, the workers were disinterested or uninformed, and the strike failed. In 1959 Castro sought to reorganize and control labor. He replaced most of the old labor leadership with trusted revolutionaries and mobilized all Cuban wage earners under state-controlled labor unions.

By the end of 1961 it appeared quite unlikely that the revolutionary government had solved the problem of chronic unemployment. Labor conditions worsened: the government had reported an estimated 550,000 unemployment figure by the end of 1960.[180] The shortage of sugar workers reported during the 1960–61 harvest period was caused by increased recruitment into the militia and youth corps which absorbed many of the Cubans who would otherwise have been unemployed. Basically the government did not alter the wage rates, but through the unions it reduced the amount of take-home pay by obtaining wage freeze and wage cuts, and by accepting "volunteer" elimination of fringe benefits. The workers were compelled by the government to work free overtime in the interest of increased production and to make "voluntary" contributions to a government-established fund for industrial development, also "voluntary."[181]

Revolutionary Society

Social Structure

Cuban classes after 1959. A sweeping social reorganization reshuffled the Cuban society. The revolution

> overthrew not only the government of Fulgencio Batista, but, as became increasingly apparent, the entire social order upon which all previous government had been based since the Spanish conquest of the island. Early in 1961 the new social order was still highly unstable, and it was impossible to predict the form it would eventually take.[182]

The privileged class was abolished and its functions as the retainer of the nation's sources of wealth and power were assumed by the new revolutionary government. The new Cuban society could best be described as a society of the "humble" and the "modest." The "humble" are the farmers and the wageworkers, and the "modest" are those "who control a small capital investment, but employ little or no wage labor."[183]

Racial discrimination after 1959. Discriminatory practices against nonwhites were completely abolished and racial equality was achieved in 1959, according to the assertions of the revolutionary government. All Cubans of all classes, including Negroes, were given access to beaches, resorts, schools, and clubs that were formerly closed to members of the lower classes. "Perfect freedom" had been achieved by virtue of the revolution, according to the government, and societies which advanced the promotion of minority rights, especially those of the Negroes, were no longer needed. "They were encouraged to wither away by administrative actions which deprived them of their income and office space."[184]

Effects of the revolution on the church. There was no rapprochement between Church and state after Batista was overthrown. The Church openly supported many of the revolutionary government's social programs, but its continued hostility toward the Communist Party placed it in an unfavorable position vis-a-vis the new political heads who were either Communists or extreme leftists. There were open clashes between the Church and the government in 1960–61 and Castro announced that the government was taking determined steps to nationalize the Church schools and expel those of the clergy who opposed the revolution. However, Castro assured the Cubans in 1961 that the "Socialist revolution was not opposed to religion," and was in fact favorable to it if it remained outside the realm of politics and ceased to promote "counterrevolutionary" activities.[185]

Attitude of Professional Groups vis-a-vis Their Society Under the Castro Government

Many members of the intellectual class were greatly disillusioned and frustrated by the political makeup of the new revolutionary government and by their part in the new society. They lost their social position, and they lost their prestige; economics, the sciences, and industrial engineering began to overshadow law, architecture, and metaphysics. The government increasingly intruded in the professional and personal lives of the professional groups and required them to support the views of the regime. Consequently, they left the island in hordes so that by 1962 Cuba had a marked shortage of professional persons as well as some of the lesser educated persons.

Revolutionary Politics

The Fundamental Law of 1959 and Revolutionary Institutions

The Fundamental Law of 1959 incorporated most of the 1940 Constitution except for the provisions dealing with the separation of powers. Under the 1940 Constitution, executive power was vested in a

president whose authority was expressed through a cabinet. Under the new law, power was vested in a Council of Ministers whose Prime Minister was to "direct the general policy of the Government. . . ."[186] The Law was drawn primarily to give sanction to the *ad hoc* decisions of the revolutionary government. Elections were never held because the leaders who controlled the revolutionary apparatus felt that many social and economic changes needed to precede an elected government.

Various new institutions were established by decree during the early months of the revolutionary government in an effort to fulfill Fidel Castro's promises and improve living standards. Most important of these was the INRA, whose general duties were to limit the size of landholdings by expropriating land from large landholders and distributing a small acreage to each landless peasant. INRA went far beyond the provisions of the law which brought it into being, however. On its own initiative it expropriated cattle and machinery as well as land. Although the law provided that landowners should be compensated with government bonds, INRA gave no bonds and no receipts in exchange for the land, and no hearings were held for those who tried to appeal.[187]

The new government also undertook a crash program to raise living standards by providing low-income housing, schools, health services, and public recreation facilities.[a] New construction projects erupted all over Cuba. To finance these costly projects, the government reorganized the old National Lottery into the new National Institute for Savings and Housing (INAV). The Institute sold numbered tickets for prizes and financed INAV projects with the profits. However, profits were only marginal, and many projects were abandoned due to lack of funds.

Political Imbalance After 1959

The revolutionary leaders promised the Cuban people during the revolution against Batista that Cuba would have a popularly elected government which would represent the "true" voice of the people. By 1963, however, no elections had been held. Instead, the radical leaders

[a] Aside from reducing rents by 50 percent, the new government constructed ten thousand apartment units and single family houses at a cost of $24 million in 1959 alone. The government had planned to construct twenty thousand more in 1960. Many units were constructed near beaches and resorts to provide easy access to recreational facilities.[188] In 1960 the government enacted the Urban Reform Law, a long-term program whereby tenants were to receive title to the property they occupied after continuing to pay rent to a state agency over a specified number of years.[189]

In its goal to educate the entire Cuban population, the government constructed ten thousand new one-room schoolhouses in the rural areas in 1960. Most of the $90 million appropriated for education in that year was earmarked for increased construction of schools.[190] These schools were to supplant the large urban educational centers that were housed in former Batista military camps.

eventually established a dictatorial government which placed decision-making power solidly into the hands of a small clique at the top level, and eliminated almost the entire population from major consideration in national policy formulation.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE REVOLUTION

Leadership

The conflict of policies that plagued the revolutionary leadership during the fighting stage of the revolution became critical after the fall of Batista. From January to November 1959, the radical leadership (Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, Che Guevara, et al.) sponsored a series of programs which aroused opposition among the moderate middle-class leaders who had previously offered the strongest support to the revolution. One political crisis followed another until the balance of power within the revolutionary leadership shifted from moderate to extreme left. Moderates were dismissed from their governmental posts and many went into exile to form political opposition to the revolutionary government.

In exile the anti-Castro groups have "suffered the same type of division that had plagued the opposition to Batista."[191] The leadership, composed of intellectuals and professionals, is divided into two major groups: conservative military officers and politicians, former supporters of Batista, who made up the first wave of political exiles to leave Cuba; and moderate former officials and supporters of the revolutionary government, who made up the second wave. The anti-Castro following is small and composed of exiles across the wide strata of Cuban society.

Strategy and Goals

Within the first few months of 1959 the program designed for Cuba differed little from earlier programs. Fidel Castro's 20-point program, issued in February, advocated agrarian reform, protective tariffs, and rapid industrialization to provide jobs for four hundred thousand Cubans within 2 years. It also included a reduction in housing costs, rents, ministerial salaries, and public service rates, and a general salary increase for Cuban workers.[192]

In July, 6 months after Batista was overthrown, an open letter was sent to President Eisenhower from the nonofficial Joint Committee of Cuban Institutions, a prorevolutionary institution made up of the leading professional citizens of Cuba. The letter was specifically written to

dispel fears that the revolution was being undermined by communism. Through agrarian reform and government-encouraged industrial and agricultural diversification, the leaders were seeking better distribution "of the means of access to the national wealth." Communism, they felt, threatens only those countries where national wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. Cuba was prepared to take all measures necessary to solve its economic problems. The leaders also reassured the President that they had no intention of exporting the Cuban Revolution.[193]

Some of the expressed social and economic aims of the revolution have been accomplished. New schools have been established and low-cost housing has been constructed. Health services and public recreational facilities have been expanded. Land has been confiscated and some acreage has been distributed to the landless peasants. Some attempts at diversification of agriculture and industrialization have been made.

The political record of the revolutionary regime, however, displays a "consistent betrayal" of the revolution's original aims. All aspects of Cuban society have been placed under the direct control of the regime. No elections have been held, and the country is ruled by a council composed of the extreme elements of the 26th of July Movement and leaders of the Popular Socialist Party led by Fidel Castro. All forms of opposition to the regime have been declared illegal. The regime has nationalized domestic and foreign enterprises and has reneged on its original promises to fulfill its international obligations.

The various anti-Castro groups in exile have issued a number of programs for Cuba contingent upon a successful overthrow of the Castro government. The content and purpose of these programs closely resemble those that were advanced during the anti-Batista movement of the 1950's. The leaders in exile wish to overthrow Castro's regime, restore the 1940 Constitution, outlaw the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, and hold free and general elections within 18 months. They have assured those who were dispossessed of their properties that their assets would be returned "except for those to be constitutionally expropriable for national interest." They advocate agrarian reform with "fair" compensation to former owners of confiscated lands, abolition of state control over labor, low-cost housing, and guarantees of free enterprise and private ownership. Traditional relations with democratic countries are to be resumed. One of the more radical exile groups has maintained a separate position on two points: government control of all public utilities, including public transportation, with "fair" compensation to the former owners; and continued national direction of foreign banks.[194]

Ideology

Radicalism appeared after Batista was overthrown, and the urgent pace of events forced the leaders to explain the revolution in terms different from those used throughout the war. Increasingly, Fidel Castro and his associates adopted Communist definitions of class interests and theories of history and society which provided the revolutionary program a much more consistent rationale than did earlier statements. This was a result of a fusion between the revolutionary government and the Popular Socialist Party, which became the government's main base of support. Cuba had achieved economic liberation from its chief enemy, the United States, according to the speechmakers, and was well on its way to economic progress and social reform. They spoke of the peasants and the workers in their struggle against "capitalist exploiters and the bourgeoisie." They declared that the Cuban masses were "marching relentlessly toward the creation of a socialist state."

By early 1961, the revolutionary government committed itself to the Communist doctrine by adopting "Marxism-Leninism" as the official Cuban state ideology. It expressed its agreement with the Moscow Declaration, which contained a reaffirmation of the Soviet bloc countries to communize the world and was issued at the close of the world conference of Communist Parties (December 1960), and it hailed the support of the Socialist world headed by the Soviet Union. In international affairs, fighting "United States imperialism" became synonymous with fighting for world peace. "In domestic affairs the national goal was the development of socialism. The main emphasis was on teaching the peasants and the workers that their historic role was to achieve the Socialist revolution by hard work and sacrifice in the interest of increased production."[195] The type of socialism to be developed is the second stage of the "proclaimed Communist three-stage theory of political evolution: national liberation, socialism, and Communism."[196]

Organization of Anti-Castro Movements

Underground Units

Internal. Anti-Castro underground units were formed during 1959 by Castro's former supporters who were expelled from the revolutionary government because of their anti-Communist attitudes. They were organized along the lines of the old anti-Batista groups; although membership overlapped, they recognized no centralized leadership and usually worked independently. By the fall of 1960, the combination of underground and guerrilla activity in Cuba was creating a situation of open rebellion.

One of the first underground groups to organize was the Movement of Revolutionary Recovery, launched clandestinely by former military and civilian supporters of Castro. The organization received supplies from persons in the United States, and was closely linked with another group, the Catholic Groupment, made up of young professionals and Roman Catholic youths. The People's Revolutionary Movement, an outgrowth of the Movement of Revolutionary Recovery, established national, provincial, and local underground chapters that reached throughout Cuba. It collected money from its supporters, dispensed anti-Castro propaganda material, and committed acts of sabotage in the cities. It received no aid from external sources. Smaller and less important underground units were formed after exile groups dropped thousands of leaflets over Cuban cities urging on Cubans to form "phantom cells" of three or four members to commit acts of sabotage. The leaflets instructed the groups to hit at commercial and industrial enterprises owned by the government.[197]

External. For months following the overthrow of Batista, a strong but not dominant wing of Cuban exiles sought the support of the U.S. Government to establish an anti-Castro organization. The U.S. officials ignored this pressure for approximately one year. By the spring of 1960, pushed by the events in Cuba, the United States decided to become a partner in a plan to organize a force of Cuban exiles, not necessarily to use it immediately against the Castro regime, but at least to hold it in readiness. "The implementation of this decision, requiring the greatest secrecy, was entrusted to the Central Intelligence Agency."[198]

The political framework of the anti-Castro force was provided by a unity pact signed in Miami in May 1960, which established the Democratic Revolutionary Front headed by a five-man directorate. The Front excluded Cubans who were once connected with the Batista government, and included such organizations as the *Auténtico* Party, the Montecristi group, Triple A, the Movement of Revolutionary Recovery, and the Christian Democratic Party. In effect the Front "represented the Center of the exile world at a time when the Right was still unduly prominent and the Left had not yet arrived in large numbers."[199]

When the "Left" did arrive during the latter half of 1960, however, the Front had already been weakened by internal dissension and was now being seriously threatened by newcomers whose political platform had more appeal for the recent influx of Cuban emigration. The political struggle continued between the two factions in the months that followed, but they were finally joined together in a political marriage in March 1961 after much prodding from U.S. officials. A seven-man council, known as the Revolutionary Council of Cuba, was set up and headed by Castro's former Prime Minister, Dr. José Miro Cardona. By

this time, however, priority was being given to an invasion army that was being prepared secretly with heavy involvement of U.S. officials; and the Council, still split over basic differences and not consulted on Cuban policy, "was not in command of the situation."[200]

The Revolutionary Council of Cuba served as a political "fig leaf" for an invasion army that was being prepared in the United States and Guatemala. The military plans began to take shape in the spring of 1960. A series of guerrilla training camps were established in Guatemala and the United States, and the "most promising guerrilla leaders, some of them veterans of the Sierra Maestra campaign at Castro's side, were sent for advance training to the U.S. Army's Jungle Warfare School at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone."[201]

The invasion, launched from Guatemala in April 1961, resulted in a complete disaster for the invading anti-Castro forces.[202] The effects of the defeat intensified the divisions that had existed among the exile groups.

Guerrilla

Anti-Castro guerrilla units were formed by ex-Castro war veterans within months after the revolutionary government was established. Their leaders became disenchanted with the revolution because of the increasing influence of the Popular Socialist Party, and returned to the mountains of Las Villas and Camagüey Provinces. Other organizations later erupted in Pinar del Río. Local inhabitants aided the rebels and Catholic student organizations sent supplies and volunteers. Exiled leaders toured the United States to seek arms and supplies, and weapons were flown or smuggled by boat to Cuba to support the rebel groups. Castro's drive to wipe out the guerrilla units with his armed militia paid off well, and by spring of 1961 most of the scattered anti-Castro groups were weak and fighting for mere survival. Since then, however, several groups have resurged and have continued to do considerable damage through acts of sabotage in the rural areas.

Labor Organizations

Labor organizations made up the major force behind the anti-Machado revolution in 1933. Batista placated organized labor and it remained progovernment until the last days of the fighting in the late 1950's.

Castro, however, instituted complete central control over labor after he came to power and thereby removed its revolutionary potential. He unionized the entire Cuban labor force and increased the number and size of labor organizations. Top union leaders who did not support the revolution were purged; some were ousted and others were brought to a

lower level of power. High level slots were filled by members of the 26th of July Movement and the Popular Socialist Party; later they were filled almost entirely by party members. Labor organizations thus became completely subservient to the state and developed into mechanisms through which Castro was able to indoctrinate the workers.

Political Parties and Groups

The Popular Socialist Party was the only party to support fully Castro's social revolution after January 1959. It penetrated the 26th of July Movement guerrilla army and labor unions, and worked toward expanding its public role by setting forth the prospect of fusing together under PSP auspices all the revolutionary groups that favored a radical social revolution. Fidel Castro supported this role. All moderates of other parties and organizations which formed anti-Communist movements in Cuba were purged and either went into exile or were prosecuted for taking part in counterrevolutionary activities. By February 1960 anti-communism was equated with treason.

Political exiles flooded Miami and brought with them a "staggering number and variety" of movements, associations, fronts unions, and other categories of organizations which ranged over both sides of the political scale. Many of the groups were "little more than cliques of self-appointed leaders."[203] Scores of pamphlets and periodicals either denouncing the revolution as a whole or Castro's betrayal of the revolution were issued from their printing presses. Attempts were made to unify these groups in exile under U.S. auspices, but factional disputes made these attempts generally unsuccessful.

Social Organizations

The professional associations threw in their lot with the revolutionary government after Batista was overthrown; however, by August 1960 purges under Castro had reached the professional associations, and those who had not fled the country and whose interests were formerly linked to the Batista government were held suspect by the regime. Castro further tightened his control over the Cuban professionals by requiring them to join government-controlled professional unions as well as associations.

Religious Organizations

The Church supported much of Castro's early reform program, but renewed its denunciation of communism in 1959. In 1960–61 the revolutionary government moved against the Church by taking over its schools, papers, and other organizations, and labeled it as a reactionary organization conspiring with pro-Batista sympathizers and the United

States. The government met with some success in reducing the prestige of the Church. In May 1961 non-Cuban priests were expelled from Cuba and all schools were nationalized. The government offered "nationalist rationalism" for a moral alternative to Roman Catholicism.[204]

SUMMARY

After 1960 political power in Cuba was consolidated into a pro-Soviet one-party dictatorship of revolutionary leaders and the Communist Party, and the entire Cuban society underwent radical change. Only months after the fighting had ended and Batista had left the country, Fidel Castro and his followers moved rapidly to eliminate political opposition, to nationalize the economy, and to incorporate all economic and social groups into the state machinery to serve as supporters of state policies.

A large segment of Cubans who opposed the revolutionary government left the island to form anti-Castro exile groups in foreign countries. The majority have found their way to the United States where they have continually attempted, with strong support from the U.S. Government, to form an anti-Castro united front organization whose strategic objective is to overthrow Castro's pro-Soviet government and to revive constitutionality in Cuba.

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[87] Dubois, *Castro,* pp. 167–172, 227–228, 262–263; Draper, "Castro's Cuba," pp. 9–10.

[88] Ray Brennan, *Castro, Cuba and Justice* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 82–83.

[89] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 3.

[90] Ibid., p. 47.

[91] Ibid, p. 164.

[92] Ibid., p. 144.

[93] Ibid., p. 268.

[94] Ibid., p. 423.

[95] Draper, *Myths,* p. 11.

[96] Ibid., p. 12.

[97] Ibid., p. 13.

[98] Ibid., p. 41.

[99] Ibid., p. 13.

[100] Ibid., p. 44.

[101] Irving Peter Pflaum, *Tragic Island: How Communism Came to Cuba* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 55.

[102] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 282.

[103] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 395.

[104] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 206.

[105] Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), p. 56.

[106] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* p. 56; General Alberto Bayo, *One Hundred Fifty Questions Asked of a Guerrilla Fighter,* tr. Joint Publication Research Service L–1775–D, Photoduplication Service, Washington Library of Congress, July 14, 1959, p. 2.

[107] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* p. 85.

[108] Bayo, *Questions,* pp. 2, 6.

[109] Ibid., p. 6; Taber, *Biography,* pp. 92–93.

[110] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 73.

[111] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 113.

[112] Ibid., p. 112.

[113] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 81; Teresa Casuso, *Cuba and Castro,* tr. Elmer Grossberg (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 101–118.

[114] Dubois, *Castro,* pp. 160–161; Bayo, *Questions,* pp. 6–7.

[115] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 127.

[116] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* pp. 100–103.

[117] Chappelle, "How Castro Won," p. 334.

[118] Taber, *M-26,* p. 210.

[119] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* pp. 33–34.

[120] *Time* (July 14, 1958), 29.

[121] Taber, *M-26,* p. 210.

[122] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* p. 30.

[123] Ibid., p. 31.

[124] Ibid., pp. 95–97.

[125] Bayo, *Questions,* pp. 15–18.

[126] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 141.

[127] Taber, *M-26,* p. 76.

[128] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 396.

[129] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 254.

[130] Ibid., p. 250.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 249.

[133] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 135.

[134] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 395.

[135] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 212.

[136] Brennan, *Castro,* p. 195.

[137] Pflaum, "Fidel," p. 12.

[138] Draper, "Castro's Cuba," p. 23.

[139] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 261.

[140] Ibid., p. 267.

[141] Ibid., p. 388.

[142] Dubois, *Castro,* pp. 225–229.

[143] Chatham House Memoranda: "Cuba: A Brief Political and Economic Survey," for the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London: Oxford University Press, September 1958), p. 9.

[144] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 216.

[145] Chappelle, "How Castro Won," p. 330.

[146] Batista, *Betrayed,* pp. 81–82.

[147] Chappelle, "How Castro Won," p. 331.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 174.

[150] Draper, "Castro's Cuba," p. 7.

[151] Taber, *M-26,* p. 82.

[152] Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare,* p. 26.

[153] Feliks Gross, *The Seizure of Political Power in a Century of Revolutions* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), p. 106.

[154] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 470.

[155] *Hispanic American Review,* X, 12 (January 1958), 662.

[156] Dubois, *Castro,* pp. 148–149.

[157] *Hispanic American Review,* X, 11 (December 1957), 596.

[158] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 450.

[159] *Hispanic American Review,* X, 11 (December 1957), 596, quoting *Diario de la Marina* (Cuba), October 31, 1957.

[160] *Hispanic American Review,* X, 8 (September 1957), 414–415.

[161] *Hispanic American Review,* X, 9 (October 1957), 468.

[162] Weyl, *Red Star,* pp. 141–143.

[163] Press release by U.S. delegation to General Assembly at United Nations, October 31, 1960.

[164] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 447.

[165] *New York Times,* February 27, 1961, p. 1.

[166] U.S. Senate Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Rept., *Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1959–1960).

[167] Weyl, *Red Star,* p. 141.

[168] *Hispanic American Review,* XI, 4 (May 1958), 203.

[169] *Hispanic American Review,* XI, 9 (October 1958), 497; *Hispanic American Review,* XI, 10 (November 1958), 552.

[170] *Hispanic American Review,* XI, 12 (January 1959), 670–671.

[171] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 446.

[172] Ibid., p. 447.

[173] U.S. Senate, *Communist Threat,* part 9, p. 687; and Rivero, *American Dilemma,* p. 199.

[174] Dubois, *Castro,* p. 211.

[175] Ibid., pp. 223–224.

[176] Rivero, *American Dilemma,* pp. 202–203.

[177] U.S. Department of State, *The Castro Regime in Cuba* (Washington: Department of State), p. 8.

[178] Pflaum, *Tragic Island,* p. 131.

[179] FASD, *Handbook,* p. 570.

[180] Ibid., p. 235.

[181] Ibid., p. 259.

[182] Ibid., p. 105.

[183] Ibid., p. 127.

[184] Ibid., p. 90.

[185] Ibid., p. 232.

[186] Organization of American States, Pan American Union, *Fundamental Law of Cuba 1959* (Washington, 1959), p. 41.

[187] Draper, *Runaway Revolution,* p. 17.

[188] FASD, *Handbook,* pp. 307–308.

[189] Ibid., p. 307.

[190] Ibid., p. 205.

[191] Ibid., p. 415.

[192] Dubois, *Castro,* pp. 375–376.

[193] Pflaum, *Tragic Island,* pp. 54–58.

[194] Ibid, p. 188; Karl E. Meyer and Tad Szulc, *The Cuban Invasion: A Chronicle of a Disaster* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 107–108.

[195] FASD, *Handbook,* pp. 425–426.

[196] Department of State, *Castro Regime,* p. 2.

[197] "Castro Foes Drop Leaflets in Cuba," *New York Times,* December 2, 1961.
[198] Draper, *Myths,* p. 69.
[199] Ibid., p. 70.
[200] Ibid., p. 100.
[201] Meyer, *Cuban Invasion,* p. 84.
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[203] Draper, *Myths,* p. 61.
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TECHNICAL APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

Three case studies were prepared on the Algerian (1954–62), Cuban (1953–59), and Vietnam (1941–54) Revolutions using a common conceptual framework and study procedures, in order to facilitate subsequent comparative analyses among the three. This appendix contains:

(1) a summary statement of the conceptual frame of reference underlying the studies;

(2) a general summary of the procedures used in preparation of the case studies.

At the same time, a case study of the situation in Guatemala between 1944 and 1954 is being prepared, using a different approach more suitable to that situation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Revolution Defined[a]

The word *revolution* is frequently used interchangeably with such terms as rebellion, coup d'etat, insurgency, and insurrection. Various writers, *Webster's Dictionary*, and the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* disagree on a precise meaning of the word. Except in the natural sciences, "revolution" usually refers to any sudden change with far-reaching consequences, but may sometimes refer to a gradual change which has suddenly been recognized as having had far-reaching consequences. The particular change is usually indicated by adjectives such as cultural, scientific, economic, industrial, and technological. Used without a qualifying adjective, the word most often describes political revolution; it is so used in these three case studies.

More precisely, in the case studies *revolution means the modification, or attempted modification, of an existing political order partially at least by illegal (or unconstitutional) force used primarily by persons under the jurisdiction of the political order.* The terms *revolutionary dynamics* and *revolutionary effort* are both used to refer to activities of all kinds of revolutionary actors and organizations. *Revolutionary movement* is used generically to refer to all the revolutionary actors and organizations operating against a government during defined time periods, unless specific organizations or actors are identified in the text. Finally, *revolutionary situation* refers to a continuum of tensions within a country in which revolutionary

[a] This definition appears in a longer discussion of definitions in the *Casebook on Insurgency and Revolutionary Warfare: 23 Seminary Accounts* (Washington: Special Operations Research Office, 1963).

conflict has emerged as a major problem requiring direct allocation of resources and effort by a government.

General Approach

A general, heuristic study model with two basic premises was adopted. It was assumed, first, that a revolution is a complex interaction of socio-economic-political factors (revolution-inducing factors) and organic factors of the revolutionary movement. It was also assumed that particular factors do not necessarily remain unchanged and that changes in the factors and in their interaction are significant.

On the basis of the previous SORO study of 23 revolutions and a review of other studies in the literature, a number of general and specific examples of these two kinds of factors were identified; they have been offered in the past by other writers as "explanations" of revolutionary phenomena, and they are discussed in the next two sections. All of these examples were treated as hypotheses for the three case studies and were tested for their applicability to each revolution. They were not judged *a priori* to be causes of revolutions. They were studied to determine their presence or absence in a revolution and to determine their operation in time. The latter determination was accomplished by submitting each factor to a crude trend analysis—that is, organizing the information relevant to each hypothesis through chronological periods.

A distinction between immediate causes of revolution and long range causes is not relevant to this type of approach to the study of revolution. The importance of historical circumstance as a precipitant of revolution is not denied; it is simply not accorded the central role here that some students of revolution have attributed to it. The operation of historical circumstance is discussed in terms of revolution-inducing factors and revolutionary movement factors. The trend analysis records the development of situations in which the potential for revolutionary warfare may be latent, but not primarily dependent upon historical circumstances. Thus, historical necessity is not implied by the trend analysis approach—changes in both the socio-economic-political environment and in the structure and function of revolutionary movements can occur depending upon the actors involved.

Factors Inducing Revolution

It is suggested that factors inducing revolution may be broadly categorized under three general hypotheses which may be descriptive of a prerevolutionary situation: economic maladjustment, social antagonism, and political weakness. While no attempt has been made to assign

relative weights to these various factors in a positive numerical sense, it appeared initially that political weakness as defined should rate highest on any scale devised to measure the revolutionary potential of a society. However, such conceptual refinements must await further analysis and are not reflected in the three case studies.

In the discussion below, each factor (and subfactor) is discussed as a conditional hypothesis regardless of evidence available concerning its validity. The purpose of the discussion is to describe briefly the hypotheses as used in the study of the three cases. It will be noted that the hypotheses are stated broadly to allow identification of all the information unique to each revolution and, consequently, an evaluation of the hypotheses.

Economic Maladjustment

The economy of a country may be considered to be a situation of maladjustment when one or more of the following conditions is present: foreign control of economic life, concentration of land ownership and a large population of landless peasants, lack of a diversified economy, and chronic unemployment or underemployment. These conditions may have concomitants that provide revolutionary motivations. They may affect the economic standard of living of the population in general, the distribution of wealth, and the form of the social structure.

Foreign control over the economy of a colonial or so-called semicolonial[b] country may entail certain socio-economic troubles for that country, even though, in a strictly economic sense, the relationship may appear to work to the country's advantage. Higher standards of living enjoyed by resident foreigners and by those natives who are affiliated with foreign economic interests may have a powerful demonstrative effect on the native population; resultant dissatisfaction with their lower living standards and their frustration over foreign influences in the economic life of the country may produce social antagonisms directed against both foreigners and native beneficiaries of foreign interests. If a native middle class is deprived of full participation in the economic life of the country, foreign control may drive the social element best prepared to assume the role of a political opposition into a revolutionary movement.

A system of land tenure in which "landlordism" predominates may be fraught with revolutionary potential. The national economy may suffer as a whole from the inefficiency in agricultural production

[b] Semicolonial countries are politically independent states which are economically dependent on industrialized countries, as some Latin American countries have been economic dependencies of the United States.

sometimes associated with a high concentration of land ownership. The wealthy landlord may often be less interested in yields-per-acre than in rents and interest payments from his tenants and peasant debtors. The landless peasants may lack incentive to produce, since experience may have shown them little connection between efforts and rewards. Thus, poverty and low productivity can perpetuate themselves in a cyclical process.

A low level of purchasing power in a country may hinder the development of local industry and reinforce economic dependence on one or two cash crops or mineral products for export. The economic position of raw-material-producing countries in relation to exporters of industrial goods has tended to deteriorate over recent decades due to world trade conditions. A more diversified economy has thus become a matter of economic necessity for most raw-material-exporting countries. The lack of a diversified economy may subject a country to the vagaries of world market conditions and threaten its economic stability; the socio-economic effect usually is to narrow the range of economic opportunities, thus tending to perpetuate a paternalistic type of society.

Another condition indicative of economic maladjustment is chronic and widespread unemployment or underemployment. Such a situation may result from the impact of world market conditions on a single-crop economy or from the seasonal nature of the main cash crop. The socio-economic effects of unemployment may be more likely to reach a critical point when those out of work are urban workers or at least are living on a money economy rather than a subsistence economy. Generally, it can be hypothesized that the higher the level of industrialization the greater would be the revolutionary potential in a period of unemployment, for idle workers frequently make up the mass following of revolutionary movements. Native middle-class and intellectual elements tend to blame periods of unemployment on foreign control of the economy and on the lack of a diversified economy; this type of agitation around economic issues may be used to rally broad mass support for the revolutionary movement.

Social Antagonism

Tensions within the social structure, a demise of a traditional way of life, and the marginality of intellectuals may be regarded aspects of social antagonism which may be related to revolutions.

Tensions within the social structure may include conflicts between economic classes, clashes along ethnic, religious, cultural, and racial lines, and generational cleavages. Revolutionary potential may be greatest when those divisions happen to be superimposed on one another, as when one element of that population is defined along the

same racial, religious, and economic lines. Such is the case in colonial territories and in some semicolonial countries in which a nonnative population element dominates economic life. Social tensions in racially homogeneous societies may take the form of a so-called "class-struggle" between those in control of economic and political power and the outgoing. Economically underdeveloped areas may be particularly vulnerable to extreme social tensions between a dynamic and emergent new middle class and a static traditional elite. The introduction of Western education and modern mores into these areas may greatly exacerbate already existing generational cleavages.

The demise of traditional society, which many countries are experiencing as a result of urbanization and industrialization or of social and political revolution, may have important psychological implications for the growth of a revolutionary movement. Traditionally accepted social values and social attitudes which support the *status quo* tend to be undermined by such historical developments as de-colonization, the emergence of new nationalisms, and the expansion of the Sino-Soviet power bloc. One function of the demise of traditional society has been the emergence of a new class of Western-educated intellectuals[c] to challenge the tradition-oriented older intellectual class.

These new intellectuals, many of whom find themselves in a condition of social marginality, may be a critical factor in the revolutionary process. Marginality in the sociological sense in which the term is used here implies a state of being "incompletely assimilated and denied full social acceptance and participation by the dominant [political] group or groups in a society because of racial or cultural conflict."[1] The marginal intellectual may tend to become spiritually disenchanted with, or alienated from, the prevailing ethos of the socio-political system to which he is denied access. Students of revolution have noted a correlation between the alienation of intellectuals from the ruling elite and the development of a revolutionary movement.[2]

The term intellectual when applied to underdeveloped areas generally has broader application than it has in more advanced countries. In the Cuban case study, the term is used in a narrower sense and is applied only to those who have had university education, or to middle-class professional groups. In the Algerian and Vietnam case studies, however, it applies to anyone with a secondary education or more.

> This is in no way condescension toward the new states. It is only an acknowledgement of the smaller degree of internal differentiation which has until now prevailed within the educated class in the new states, and

[c] In the Sino-Soviet bloc this new class is the Communist-educated class.

> to greater disjunction which marks that class off from the other sections of the society.[3]

Thus the emergent middle class in colonial and semicolonial societies may be regarded as an intellectual class, since the members of this group have some familiarity with Western values and modern economic methods and, most important of all, are politically conscious.

Political Weakness

Included under this general heading are factors of political imbalance, political fragmentation, and inefficiency of governmental machinery.

The political system of a country may be regarded as being in a state of imbalance when the mass of the population is deprived of representation and participation in the government. Thus, colonial institutions may have an inherent weakness because of their inevitable discrimination against the native population in favor of metropolitan interests. Native participation in the administration of colonial government without native political responsibility may intensify revolutionary potential. If for any reason a country's political institutions fail to function as a clearinghouse for conflicting claims from all elements of society, then that country's political system may be in imbalance and a certain element of revolutionary potential present.

Political fragmentation, as the expression is employed here, refers to hostility among opposing elements in the political elite and the political opposition groups of such violent proportions that these elements are unable to operate within the normal channels of political compromise and coalition. The expression does not imply the type of loyal opposition that has been characteristic of Anglo-American political experience.

Governmental inefficiency may be regarded as a factor related to the development of a revolutionary movement and to the efficiency of the movement once started. It may not be enough for a governmental apparatus merely to maintain order and administer routine public services and utilities; perhaps it must function in a capacity of "honest broker" between conflicting elements in the society and the polity. Thus, political imbalance and fragmentation may seriously detract from the efficiency of a government, although on the surface it may appear to function quite efficiently. When normal administrative operations, such as police protection and communications services, become impaired, then the latent revolutionary potential generated by political imbalance and fragmentation may rise to critical proportions. The dynamics and timing of governmental response to the revolutionary movement may be of the utmost importance in the efficiency of that

response which may have to include political and institutional adjustment as well as restoration and maintenance of public order and governmental control.

Organic Factors of the Revolutionary Movement

For each revolution, historical and descriptive data have been collected under the following six aspects of revolutionary warfare: actors, strategy and goals, ideology and mystique, organization, techniques, and foreign influence. Within these categories data have generally been presented in chronological sequence. Since these are self-defining terms, it will only be necessary to point out some of the conceptual refinements and generalizations developed in the course of this study. A more elaborate delineation of these concepts must await further analysis.

Actors

The leadership cadre and the followers of that revolutionary organization which ultimately came into power in each situation is the group primarily treated under the category of actors. Thus, the actors of a revolutionary movement are defined by the results of the movement; the question of how one group of leaders gains control of a revolutionary movement to the exclusion of another group of revolutionists is not the main focus in this study but does receive some attention. Revolutionary actors are discussed in terms of (1) the socio-political composition of the leadership and mass following; (2) the historical continuity of personnel and the effects of a revolutionary tradition; and (3) the impact of conditions in the world at the time of the revolution, or the effects of the so-called *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the times) on the revolutionary actors.

Overall Strategy and Goals

The category of strategy and goals is concerned with the overall manner in which the successful revolutionary organization attempts to secure its revolutionary objectives. Strategy, which seems to be flexible and highly variable in most revolutions, is discussed within the context of time and circumstances rather than in terms of consistency with doctrinaire principles. This approach permits changes in strategy to be directly related to situational factors. These factors may be dependent upon purely local developments such as a change in the strategy and tactics of the security forces, or upon a major international development of a military, diplomatic, or political nature.

Revolutionary objectives, or goals, are discussed in terms of appeals for political change, socio-economic reform, or a combination of these,

often expressed in nationalist slogans—particularly in colonial revolutions. Where there are different appeals made to various segments of society, these are discussed and compared.

Ideology or Myth

It is generally accepted that an essential part of any revolutionary movement is its "social myth" or revolutionary ideology. Generally, ideology in a revolutionary situation functions as a synthesis embodying both a critique of prerevolutionary society and policy and a sociopolitical program for postrevolutionary development. In the discussion of ideology in these studies, particular attention is paid to (1) national orientation, (2) international orientation, (3) socio-economic emphasis, (4) religious emphasis, and (5) the "mystique." What has been termed the "mystique of a revolution" is similar in many respects to *esprit de corps*, and is composed of intangible elements such as the revolutionary tradition of the country, the charismatic quality of the leadership, and the revolutionary movement's prospects of success.

Organization

It appears from other studies that no specific organizational form is necessary to insure the success of revolutionary movements. They have included paramilitary units, regular military and auxiliary organizations, clandestine cells or an underground movement, legal and illegal political parties, labor organizations, social organizations, paragovernmental organs of state power, governments-in-exile, or a combination of these. In each of the revolutions studied, attention has been focused on both the organizational and functional aspects of the above types of groups which made up the revolutionary organization ultimately coming to power.

Techniques

This category discusses the wide variety of techniques which revolutionists use, including: psychological, diplomatic, economic, and political warfare; conventional military operations and unconventional paramilitary operations; terror, sabotage, propaganda, strikes and demonstrations; and the recruitment and training of revolutionists. Because the specific techniques used by the revolutionists interact with the countertechniques used by the government or security forces, both are discussed within the same context.

Foreign Involvement

The question of foreign involvement is of crucial importance to the course of a revolution. Considerations related to this question may

affect both the strategy and the techniques adopted by the revolutionary actors. For instance, the advantages for a revolutionary movement of a sanctuary and of diplomatic, economic, and military support from a foreign power are well-known. The number of foreign powers involved, the extent of the aid, political intervention by states or international organizations, and direct military intervention are discussed under this category.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF PROCEDURES

The procedures used to prepare the three case studies were straightforward and standard for each.

Development of Case Study Format

The first step, described in the previous section, consisted of the development of hypotheses and the preparation of a standard format for the organization of each case study.

Identification and Selection of Sources

As a second step, a systematic search for sources of information was conducted. This consisted of two parts: identification of the sources, and selection of sources. To identify sources, the SORO open-library files and Library of Congress files were reviewed, available bibliographies perused, and knowledgeable persons consulted. Sources were selected on the basis of their relevance, in terms of the information they contained, to the hypotheses formulated and on the basis of recommendations of the subject experts consulted. Selection was limited to unclassified secondary sources. However, some use was made of primary materials, when readily available, to fill in gaps in coverage. In the selection of sources every effort was made to obtain a "balance" among known political viewpoints of those who have written on the subject revolution.

Information Synthesis and Analysis: Drafting of Report

Information relevant to each hypothesis was systematically culled from the various sources, synthesized, and put in the standardized case study format. Generally speaking, attempts were made to use only information which appeared in more than one source independently; in practice, this independence was very difficult to ascertain. Conflicting

or inconsistent information was resolved by checking for consistency with other sources considered reliable.

Expert Reviews and Revision

As a final check on the substance of each case study, it was submitted separately to a number (2–6) of subject experts. Each consultant reviewed the study in terms of accuracy of facts and reasonableness of interpretation. Each study was then revised on the basis of a synthesis of the experts' comments. When conflicts in fact or interpretation could not be resolved through discussion, both viewpoints were presented in the text.

FOOTNOTES TO TECHNICAL APPENDIX

1 *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary,* 1961, p. 514.

2 Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 41–52.

3 Edward A. Shils, "The Intellectual in Political Development," in *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries: Nationalism and Communism,* ed. John H. Kautsky (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), p. 199.

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